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THE
COINAGE
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE

THE PROGRESS OF THE COINAGE IN
GREAT BRITAIN AND HER DEPENDENCIES
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY
HENRY NOEL HUMPHREYS

AUTHOR OF
"ANCIENT COINS AND MEDALS" "THE COIN COLLECTOR'S MANUAL"

Illustrated by
FAC-SIMILES OF THE COINS OF EACH PERIOD WORKED IN
GOLD SILVER AND COPPER

LONDON
CHARLES GRIFFIN AND COMPANY

1863

J. H. Balding

from

W. L. Ollard

May 1913.

TO

THOMAS GRAHAM, ESQ., D.C.L., F.R.S.,

MASTER OF THE ROYAL MINT,

THIS VOLUME

Is Respectfully Inscribed by

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

OF

“THE COINAGE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.”

THE success which attended the publication of my first numismatic work—an unpretending little volume, entitled *The Coins of England*, of which six distinct editions were called for within four years, and which was again soon out of print—induced me to undertake a more extended and complete work upon the same subject.

In *The Coins of England*, as the title clearly implied, only the *English* coinage, strictly so termed, was described. Neither the Irish nor Scottish coinages, before or after the union of the countries, were referred to, nor was the fine series of Anglo-Gallic coins struck by English sovereigns in their continental possessions described, nor the coins issued by Great Britain at a later period for her widely-spread colonial dependencies,—all of which were treated of in the first edition of the present work, the description of each class of coins being successively blended into a continuous narrative,—a form which had not been adopted in any previous work on the subject.

To these new features was added another, equally new in treatises on the British coinage, in the form of an introductory account of the origin of the art of coining, illustrated by specimens of the earliest class of coins, and examples of their progressive development in style and excellence of execution, in Greece and Rome, till the period at which the Roman coinage was introduced into Britain. Many of the now established facts, contained in this introductory chapter, were unknown when the last comprehensive work on this subject—Ruding's excellent *Annals of the Coinage*—was published. For instance, in the opening chapter of that work, it is stated that the origin of the art of coining is so ancient that it is lost in the darkness of remote antiquity; an assertion now so far disproved, that the period of the first issue of coined money can not only be approximately fixed, but the period is proved to be a comparatively modern one, that is to say, within the range of authentic history, and not exceeding seven or eight centuries before the Christian era.

The character and value of the ancient British ring-money were also unknown at the period of the latest general works on this subject, and have, in fact, been only recently ascertained, through the persevering and interesting researches of Sir William Bentham, Mr. Dickenson, and other active numismatists. This section of the subject was, therefore, for the first time, introduced in its proper place in the first edition of this work; and in the present edition further elucidations of that interesting branch of the history of British money will be found.

The greatly increased stock of knowledge concerning the character of the “coined money” that was issued by British Princes during a certain period immediately preceding the first Roman invasion, has enabled me to enrich that portion of the subject with many interesting and instructive particulars arising from the persevering researches of Messrs. Birch, Evans, and other eminent numismatists.

Another new feature in “THE COINAGE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE” consisted in the comparisons drawn between the state of the British coinage at successive periods, with the cotemporary coinages of the Continent. Thus, in order to illustrate more comprehensively the account of our interesting monuments of the “siege money” and other “money of necessity” of Charles I., a concise description of some of the most remarkable siege pieces struck in other countries was appended,—such as those of Vienna, issued during the memorable siege by the Turks; those struck in Pavia when beleaguered by Francis I.; and

others. No additions have been made to those illustrations of siege money in the present edition, but the plates belonging to them have been re-engraved with increased accuracy.

Among the illustrations which have been added to the present edition will be found specimens of the proposed new bronze issue of the present reign, and of the colonial money now striking at the Royal Mint for Canada, &c.

The examples originally selected to illustrate the coinage of each successive reign or period were chosen as presenting characteristics of the epoch, or as possessing some remarkable peculiarities either of type or inscription; thus avoiding the confusing mass of examples contained in technical works, the differences between which are only appreciable by the deeply learned numismatist. In these, but few alterations have been made; and, as in my former edition, I have represented them by a chromo-lithographic process, in their respective metals—gold, silver, or copper, &c., having found that mode of representation capable of conveying a much more vivid and true idea of a coin, to such as are not constantly in the habit of examining extensive collections of coins of all epochs, than the mere black outline by means of which the examples have been hitherto represented. The striking difference of effect between these two methods of illustrating numismatic works may be at once tested by comparing one of the metal plates of this volume with the supplemental outlines in the appendix,—which last are executed merely in outline, as only being required to form a series of marginal notes, as it were, to the principal illustrations in the body of the work.

I may add that I have endeavoured to improve the arrangement of the contents of the present work in such a manner that any young student, on the accession of a new British coin to his store, may find such an account of it (or of other coins of the same class) as shall at once enable him to assign it to its proper place in the national series. Though treating almost exclusively of the types, inscriptions, and art displayed upon the coinage, and touching but lightly on the more abstruse questions of “the currency,” I have not thought it right to omit the remarks upon the adoption of a decimal coinage which appeared in my First Edition, as the question still remains unsettled in England, though established in France, in a most perfect manner, for more than half a century.

In conclusion, I have to record my grateful thanks to the present Master of the Mint, and other officers of that establishment, for the ample information afforded me concerning the recent reforms effected therein. I have particularly to thank Messrs. Ansell and Pilcher for the facilities afforded me in the examination of every department of the Royal Mint, and the intelligent explanations afforded to me by them, which form the basis of an additional chapter appended to this edition of my work, in which I have endeavoured to trace the history and present state of the Royal Mint.

II. N. H.

DIRECTIONS TO THE READER.

1. Most of the legends and abbreviated mottoes of the coins engraved in this work will be found fully described and translated at page 196.

2. A brief separate description of each of the twenty-four Plates contained in this work, with the name of each coin, and a reference to the page in which it is more fully described, is inserted at page 198.

3. In order to bring together in a more condensed and more easily appreciable form, the steps of progressive improvement in the modes of manufacture applied to the English coinage, which took place at different epochs, it has been thought advisable to bring them all together, and arrange them in chronological order in a separate chapter on the history of the Royal Mint. In this chapter will be found an account of the securities and tests adopted by different nations at different periods to preserve the weight and purity of the coinage, such as the placing on the coins of the moneyers' names, the subsequent employment of mint-marks, and the trial of the Pyx.

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THE COINAGE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE COINS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD.

BEFORE entering upon our Survey of the Progress of the English Coinage, it appears necessary to take a short review of the Coins of the Ancient World, which I shall attempt very briefly. But previously, a few words will hardly be out of place on the importance and interest of the study of Coins in general, which, at the first glance, might appear dry and unprofitable, but which is, perhaps, the most interesting of all the studies connected with the remains of antiquity; and is, at all events, as Mionnet has termed it, "*une magnifique branche d'Archéologie.*"

It will readily be conceded, that other monuments of art—such as temples, statues, triumphal arches, &c.—have proved of the most important advantage in elucidating and testing the chronicles and histories of past times, and even in bringing to light important events in the history of the world, of which no *written* record existed; and it must be allowed that coins, when brought to bear in a similar manner upon historical facts, become still more positive evidence.

A coin, let it be found where it may, proves at once, incontrovertibly, several interesting particulars concerning the people who originally issued it. In the first place, it is invariably the means of preserving the name of the people, or of the city where it was issued; either from a symbol, or a portion of the name itself. In coins of a later period, the portrait of a sovereign is generally accompanied by an inscription; the latter often relating to some great historical event; in which case the precise date of the coin is generally discoverable with ease; so that a coin, of which the purpose (for we know it was a piece of money), the country, and the date, cannot be disputed, besides conveying at once a general idea of the arts, resources, and manners of a people at the epoch of its circulation, must, when bearing evidence to special events, become an incontrovertible and striking testimony. The date of the foundation of Rome, for instance, or at all events, the one received by the Romans themselves, is preserved by a coin, struck by the Emperor Philip the Second, to commemorate the millennium of

the city. The inscription of this coin states that it was issued in the year of his third consulship, the period of which being well known, the foundation of Rome is at once placed precisely 1,000 years before that event. The date, however, received by Roman writers and many subsequent historians, rests upon no better foundation than a nativity cast by an Oriental astrologer named Tarrutius, at the desire of the learned Varro. This date was adopted even by the stern Cato without hesitation; so strongly had the early superstitions of Eastern nations engrafted themselves upon the faith of their descendants in the West. Other Roman coins, where triumphal arches have crumbled to dust, and statues have been overthrown, still record in letters, fresh as the day they were struck, such great historical facts as "Judæa capta," "Victoriæ Brittanicæ," "Ægypto capta," and many other events fully as important as the subjection of Judæa, the victories over the Britons, or the reduction of Egypt to the state of a Roman province.

Mr. Knight, in his *Inquiry into the Symbolical Language of Ancient Mythology*, when speaking of the historical value of monuments, and of the difficulty of separating such as were mere efforts of taste from those which were positive emblems of what was supposed to be Divine truth, says, "There is one class of monuments, however, the most numerous and the most important, which must have been designed and executed under the sanction of public authority, and therefore, whatever meaning they contain, must have been the meaning of nations, and not the caprice of individuals." It is needless to add, that coins are the monuments alluded to. They have been aptly enough termed the lenses of the historical telescope, which annihilate the distance of time, and bring distinctly before our eyes contemporary records of past ages with unerring accuracy. In short, the most eloquent epitome of history, in the smallest space, might be contained in a small cabinet of coins.

The circumstance of the extremely perfect preservation of many of the finest specimens of ancient money that we possess, though accounted for in various other ways, has suggested to numismatists that their science is not a modern one, but that its importance was acknowledged also by the ancients; and that the learned and curious among the Greeks and Romans collected beautiful coins, as well worthy of preservation, either as historical records, or interesting monuments of the progress of art; indeed, some have fancifully conceived that even "*Numismatic societies*" may have existed, with a Pausanias, a Varro, or a Pliny as chairman, just as we elect a Thompson, a Johnson, or a Smith to a similar post.

Even the exact sciences have received some positive aid from the study of coins. Astronomy acquires evidence from the device on a coin of Augustus Cæsar, of the appearance of a great comet at a certain precise period. This comet is the one supposed at the time, by the populace of Rome, to be the spirit of Julius Cæsar after his apotheosis. The period exactly corresponds with the calculated time for an appearance of Halley's great comet, the second preceding the one observed by that astronomer himself; thus affording most interesting evidence of the correctness of the

observations that had determined its orbit and the period of its returns. Suetonius, it is true, also mentions the appearance of the comet, but the additional evidence of the coin is very important.

The acknowledgment of the importance of numismatic science has indeed become so general among the learned of all classes, that a professor of another science, one among those who have contributed to the stores of knowledge which have laid bare the early history of the earth itself before its habitation by man, has taken advantage of the high historical interest of coins, to call fossils the "*medals of creation*;" as doing for the story of the solid globe itself that which coins have done for the story of its subsequent inhabitant, man.

Sir Isaac Newton made frequent use of coins in testing the dates in his great work on ancient chronology;—and through their means the names of upwards of two thousand places, provinces, and princes have been preserved; many of them having no other record. In iconography, or portraiture, coins are of the greatest interest; for those of the Greek and Roman series enable us to look upon undoubtedly accurate representations of the features, not only of the great Alexander—of the Ptolemies—of Cæsar—of Augustus, but also of Homer—of Sappho—of Cicero—whose portraits, though not placed upon coins during their lives, were afterwards engraved on the public money of different states in honour to their memory. The celebrated archæologist, Visconti, has published two magnificent works on ancient portraiture—his *Iconographie Grecque*, and his *Iconographie Romaine*—in which the portraits found on coins play a far more conspicuous part than those preserved to our time by any other means.

An instance has recently occurred in which a lost history has been revealed through the medium of recently discovered coins. This, the last example of the importance of numismatics which I shall refer to, is that of the series of Græco-Bactrian and Græco-Indian coins. It is well known that after the death of Alexander the Great, his powerful lieutenants partitioned out his empire, each erecting for himself an independent sovereignty from some of the vast conquered provinces; but of the Greek princes and their descendants, who then established themselves in North-Western India, only about eight names—those of the more immediate successors of Alexander—were preserved by written history. The discovery of the coins in question has, however, already furnished the means of extending this meagre list to not less than twenty. The coins of these princes are followed by those of their more barbarous successors! forming together a series extending from the third century before, to the twelfth century after, the Christian era; and affording dates, names, and landmarks from which we may hope to see a complete history arise in the place of a vast and dreary blank: in addition to which, a lost language appears likely to be recovered through the medium of the bilingual inscriptions upon one series of these remarkable relics.

For the recovery of these invaluable historical records we are principally indebted to our conquests in India, and to the antiquarian zeal of our countrymen there established; but especially to the industry and acquire-

ments of Sir Alexander Burnes, although some Græco-Indian coins had already reached Europe through the French General Allard, when in the service of Runjeet Singh.*

Such are some of the results of European conquest in the East. Still more interesting and important discoveries may follow upon the newly opened intercourse with China; and the occupation of Northern Africa by the French, will doubtless lead to many valuable and unexpected revelations in countries once occupied by the earliest civilized races of the West.

If a series of names and dates, recorded only upon coins, have shed such new and interesting light upon some of the most obscure portions of ancient history, how much more vivid to the English student must be the interest which the preservation of similar monuments throws upon the progress of our own history as a nation?—And the interest in this case is much increased by the fact, that the existing monuments of our national coinage form a more complete and instructive series than those of any other nation of modern Europe.

Having attempted to exhibit a few of the important results to be expected from the study of coins, I shall proceed to give a brief sketch of their origin, as far as it is known, and of their gradual progress to about the time of Julius Cæsar, when the history of British coins may be said to commence.

The use of coins as a circulating medium, in substitution for simple barter, has so long been a matter of every-day practice, that it is difficult to conceive the existence of a period when their use was unknown; and yet the invention of true coins, as we now understand the term, is a comparatively modern one, not dating farther back than about seven or eight centuries before the Christian era; though different modes of substituting the precious metals, and other substances, for simple barter, had been adopted at a much earlier period.

The earliest money transaction on record is, perhaps, that in which it is related that Abraham weighed to Ephron “four hundred shekels of silver, current money with the merchant,” in payment for the field of Machpelah. This payment doubtless consisted of mere pieces of silver, without any impress or mark, which passed by weight only, as the term shekel (which eventually became the name of positive coins of gold and silver), from *shakal*, to weigh, fully implies. The denomination for money used in the book of Job is not, however, *shekel*, but “*kesital*,” a lamb; as some have thought, from the image of that animal having been stamped on the pieces, of the weight of a shekel, as the image of an ox was afterwards placed on the Roman pound weight of copper. The shekel, though at first without mark, may have been afterwards stamped with the symbol of that barter in cattle for which it was the first more convenient substitute. There is also an hypothesis that *kesital*, though translated “a piece of money” in our version, may possibly have been actually a lamb; it is most probable, however, that

* The best information on this interesting subject is to be found in Professor Wilson’s Memoir, and in the earlier notices of Messrs. Prinsep and Masson.

the term *kesitah*, or lamb, refers to the *form* of the weight by which the shekel of silver was weighed—the shekel being probably the quantity of silver for which a lamb was exchangeable, and the weight by which it was weighed being made in the form of that animal, to represent the kind of cattle, and also the number—as a single lamb—which that weight of silver represented, when it superseded direct barter. Both the weight, and its value in reference to cattle, may have been derived from the Egyptians, as in an Egyptian painting (Plate 13, No. 1) we find the public functionaries appointed by the state for the superintendence of all transactions of the kind—represented in the act of weighing pieces of silver in the form of ring-money; and using for that purpose a weight in the form of a lamb. One of the officers appears to be noting down the amount thus ascertained on a tablet. In the same painting is a weight in the form of half a lamb, the hind quarter evidently representing half the full weight. Similar weights have been discovered in Assyria by Layard—and the half *Shekel* weight may have been represented in the same way. The *Shekel* of silver, when long afterwards issued as a positive coin,* was of the weight of two Greek *Drachms*, and equal, therefore, to about two shillings and threepence of our money; which would be about the value of a lamb at that period. In Anglo-Saxon times, in the reign of Æthelstan, the value of a *sheep* was only one shilling; but money was then rare in England. Ear-rings are also mentioned in the payment just referred to, which were, doubtless, the jewel-money, to be described hereafter. The *Shekel* of the age of Jacob appears to have been succeeded by the *Shekel ha-kodesh* (of the sanctuary), of which the standard remained in the custody of the priests. It would appear that as commerce greatly increased from the time of Abraham to that of Micah, who lived, according to the ordinary computations, about 1500 B.C., that commercial wants had increased in the same proportion; and that the pieces of silver used in trade had augmented in number and diminished in size, as in the case of real coins of more recent times. For instance, a transaction of Micah, with his mother, has reference to a sum of ONE THOUSAND pieces of silver; and similar sums of one thousand pieces of silver are mentioned three centuries later in the transaction of the five lords of the Philistines and Delilah. That these were very small pieces is proved by the statement that the lords brought the money in their hands—probably in sealed bags, each containing a certain weight, as represented in Egyptian paintings. Such was the nature of the monetary transactions of the Jews, and it is quite certain that they did not adopt the use of positive coins till long after their introduction into other countries. From the time of Abraham, however, to that of the Maccabees, about 144 B.C., they probably had, like other

* The types of this coin are, on the obverse, the sacred cup of manna which Moses was ordered to preserve in commemoration of the manna miraculously furnished in the wilderness; and on the reverse, the rod of Aaron, on which three flowers are shown. The inscriptions are in the ancient Samaritan character. And the most common read, in Hebrew, on the obverse, “Shekel of Israel,” and on the reverse, “Jerusalem the Holy.” Some have such inscriptions as “Saviour Prince of Israel,” “The first year of the deliverance of Israel,” &c., &c.: there are, also, other types. See Plate 13, No. 13—a coin issued about 144 B.C.

Oriental nations, in addition to their more common money formed of small pieces of silver—which passed by weight—a kind of “jewel-money,” previously alluded to, consisting of ear-rings and other personal ornaments, adjusted to a certain weight, which might on occasion be used as money. Such are the jewels mentioned in Genesis, chap. xxiv. v. 22, as given by Abraham’s servant to Rebekah. “The man took a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold.” They had also a kind of ring-money, similar, no doubt, to that which was, in all probability, afterwards used by the Celtic nations of the West. The gold and silver ring-money of the East appears to have been formed of wire, bent into a circle, but not fastened, so that it could with ease be made into a chain, from which portions could be detached at pleasure. The received translation of the early portion of the Bible is sometimes calculated to mislead the archæologist, unacquainted with the original Hebrew, in certain passages containing such terms as “writing,” “money,” “pen,” and other words, indicative of special stages of civilization. For instance, the word *kesaph*, which is literally silver, is translated “money,” as are several other analogous terms. It may, however, be fairly inferred from the context, as interpreted by Mr. Dickenson, whose persevering researches on the subject of ring-money have led to many interesting results, that the early money (silver), which the Hebrews are stated to have carried into Egypt, was in the form of rings or loops, as it is both in the original and in the Greek of the Septuagint described as being in “bundles:” or the term may be understood as meaning “collected together,” or bound in a little bundle. Although in a loop form, however, it does not appear that each loop was separately adjusted to a special weight, but rather that each bundle, in the aggregate, amounted to a certain weight. It would appear also on a careful analysis of a passage in Job, that the gold rings therein referred to could not be intended to be all used as ear-rings. If intended for ornament only, some of the givers of the presents would have brought ornaments of another character. In short, it appears pretty certain that they were given as money, and accompanied by a piece of silver money of similar character. “We have,” says Mr. Bonomi, in an interesting memoir, “the actual representation of this currency among the ancient Ethiopians and Egyptians in hieroglyphic sculptures, in which it is not uncommon to see men weighing rings, and a scribe taking note of their number and value” (as shown in Fig. 1, Plate 13, previously referred to)—“the gold rings being painted yellow, and the silver white, accompanied by the hieroglyphics of those metals, engraved or painted near them. The hieroglyphic representative of gold is a crucible, and the crucible crossed by a leek (the symbol of white) represents silver.” Similar rings are still current in Nubia, and Mr. Bonomi was enabled to procure some specimens from a Jelab, or slave merchant, which he has presented to the Numismatic Society. They varied from a sixteenth to three-sixteenths of an inch in thickness, and in diameter, the broadest way, from two and a-half to three inches. The rings of silver were larger, and some of them, which

had been worn as bracelets, were ingeniously ornamented with engraved work. The paintings above alluded to (Plate 13, No. 1) also represent sealed bags, each, without doubt, containing a number of rings, equal to a certain weight—probably a talent. The pieces contained in such bags may, however, not always have been of the ring form; but at all events, their aggregate weight was most probably a talent, as would appear by the history of the bags of silver given by Naaman to Gehazi (2 Kings v. 23), each of which contained a talent, which, together with a change of raiment, was enough for one man to carry. Other kinds of money, of more primitive character, also existed—such as engraved stones, like the Egyptian scarabei; or pieces of cloth, or slices of salt, of a certain estimated value—such as still form the current money of some parts of Northern Africa, being doubtless the remnant of patriarchal times and customs.

To the Greeks,—the fathers of so many of the great features of civilization,—or perhaps to their Grecianized neighbours, the Lydians, it appears that we must attribute the first invention of *positive coins*, as money. Some, however, have assigned a somewhat earlier date to the Persian *darics* of gold and silver; coins nearly equivalent in value to our sovereigns and shillings; while some give precedence to the Phœnician coins struck in their colony at Malta, and others to the first bronze money of Italy. But in neither of these cases do we find a *gradual* development of the art of coining, from the simple stamping of the lump or button of metal on one side only, through all its phases, to that of the perfect coin; while the coins of Greece, on the other hand, exhibit the whole progress of the art; from its rudest beginnings to its greatest artistic perfection. In all the other instances referred to, only more or less perfected coins have been found, serving to prove that the art was received by them in an already somewhat advanced stage. The first species of money that was circulated by *tale* and not by *weight*, of which we have any account, consisted of *spikes*, or small obelisks of brass or iron; six of them being as many as the hand could grasp. From the names of this rude money were derived the words *obolus* and *drachma*, signifying “spike” and “handful,” which continued, long after the invention of positive coins, to be the names of two well-known pieces of Greek money, one of which was worth six of the other.*

The date of the transition in Greek monetary affairs from weighed pieces, or such as passed by weight, or by bulk, to positive coins, of guaranteed individual value, cannot be accurately defined; but, as Homer expressly states that, in his time, an ox was exchanged for a “bar of brass” of certain dimensions, and a woman who understood several useful arts was considered of the value of “four oxen,” it is clear that a positive coinage did not then exist in Greece; while the allusion in the laws of Lycurgus to both gold and silver coins proves that their use was then established. It is, therefore, between these two epochs that we must place the invention of coined money.

* Drachma is still the name of the principal coin in use in Greece at the present day.

Although to the Asiatic Greeks must be assigned the rapid development of the principle which superseded weighed money, yet Herodotus states that the Lydians were the first to issue gold *coin*,—that is, pieces of metal passing by *tale* (or *counting*), and not by weight; their weight and value being sufficiently guaranteed by the stamp and signet of the state by which they were issued. The first appearance of true coins, whether Lydian or Ionian, and which were at first only of gold, must, as already shown, have occurred between the epoch of Homer and that of Lysurgus, and may, therefore, be approximately estimated as having taken place about eight hundred years before the Christian era. The first gold coinage appears to have been followed by an issue of silver coins of somewhat similar character, in the island of Ægina, about fifty years later; the credit of which issue the *Parian Chronicle* assigns to Phidon, Prince of Argos.

The act of stamping a piece of metal with the signet of the state or sovereign by whom it was issued, was the act of guaranteeing its declared weight and purity, just as we now place our seal to a binding document. The earliest symbols thus placed on these primeval coins were always of a sacred character; at first, emblems referring to the foundation of the state, as the phoca, or seal, found on the coins of the Phocians, in reference to the shoal of those animals, accepted as a good omēn, which followed the fleet during the emigration of that people to Asia Minor. Emblems immediately referring to protective gods are next found forming the national stamp or signet of the ancient coins of Greece; and then, the images of the gods themselves. But it was not till after the age of Alexander the Great that portraits of sovereigns were allowed to form the sacred stamp of any national coinage; and even then, they were only tolerated in that position by the fiction of deification; a fiction still continued on modern coinages by the supposition termed the “divine right of kings.”

The earliest Greek coins were only stamped on one side, the reverse bearing no impress but that of the rude punch, by means of which the metal was driven into the die. As an example of these coins, I have selected a specimen which may be one of the earliest Lydian gold coins, alluded to by Herodotus, which, in fact, bears the emblem of Sardis, the chief city of that state. The act of impressing a seal or signet was an understood sign of solemn compact even at a very early epoch of human civilization; and it had become a custom in daily use in the Assyrian empire. The recent extraordinary discoveries of Layard have brought to light several clay seals, bearing the impress of the signet of the Assyrian king, which appear to have been attached to documents of papyrus, or some other substance for writing on, just as we find the great mediæval seals of modern Europe attached to the parchment documents of that epoch.

On the Lydian coin under description (No. 2, Plate 13), the fore parts of a lion and bull form the subject of the seal or signet, by which its weight and worth were guaranteed. This type was doubtless originally received from Assyria or Persia, where the triumph of the lion over the bull symbolized the triumph of regal power over external or domestic enemies.

The lion also represented heat, or the sun, and the bull, water or general humidity. The bull was afterwards adopted by the Greeks to symbolize a river. This coin, as will be perceived on reference to the engraving, has on the reverse only a deep rude indent.

If, indeed, the first gold coinage, which evidently originated in Asia Minor, and in a region thickly populated with Greek colonies, was yet a Lydian invention, it may be supposed that the Greek neighbours of the Lydians, the elegant Ionians, were not long in imitating it: and, in fact, some consider that it is to the Ionians themselves that the first invention of this art ought to be attributed, and that the Lydians were only the imitators; but, that, in consequence of their superior wealth, and the infinitely greater number of pieces issued by them, the celebrity of the first coinage of true money remained with them instead of its real inventors.

However this may be, it is to the Greeks solely that we owe the great development of this important step towards the extension of commerce; and with it the more rapid expansion of every kind of civilization. As an example of one of the earliest coins attributed to the Greeks themselves, I have selected a coin (No. 3, Plate 13), which has been attributed by an eminent numismatist to Miletus, in Ionia. This coin bears more undisputed marks of high antiquity and true archaic character than even the Lydian coin just described. The type or seal is a lion's head, a type preserved on the later coinage of Miletus; and originally, like that of the Sardian coins, derived from Persia or Assyria, and associated by the Greeks with the worship of Cybele.

The weight of the earliest gold coinage of Lydia was similar to that of the Greek colonies of Asia Minor. It was founded upon some well-known and generally accepted standard, by which gold had previously passed by weight before it was stamped as coin. These pieces were, therefore, termed *staters*, as being of a certain *standard*. The Ionian coin, No. 3, Plate 13, is a double stater, and weighs 248 grains, 124 being the average of the single stater of that standard. The more ancient or Babylonian standard, upon which some of the Greek staters were founded—those of Cyzicus, for instance—is, however, 180 grains. Of gold coins of this description there are also halves, quarters, thirds, and even smaller subdivisions; many curious and minute specimens of which are to be seen in good collections; each bearing a type as perfectly executed as the larger pieces. This Greek stater is the parent of the leading gold coin of all subsequent periods. It was of the value of twenty of the subsequently coined silver pieces, which were thus analogous to our shillings; so that, in fact, the relative proportion of our shillings and sovereigns was struck out, once for all, in the very first coinage that was ever issued.

On the subjugation of the Greek states of Asia Minor by the Persians, the gold coinage found in circulation there was imitated by the conquerors; but confined, it is thought, to the use of the subdued provinces. The weight and general form of the Persian pieces, then introduced, are the same as those of the Greek staters, the only difference being the substitution of the

Persian emblem, the crowned archer, for the Grecian types. The example No. 4, Plate 13, exhibits one of these coins, which, it will be seen, has still the rough indent or punch mark at the back, without any attempt at ornament.

The example No. 5, Plate 13, exhibits one of the earliest attempts to improve the effect of the rough punch mark by making the point of that instrument in the form of a head or some other object, which appeared in concave, in the indent caused by the punch. The example is a half stater of Phocæa. In the coinage of Magna Græcia this system was very elaborately carried out by producing, on the reverse, an exact repetition in *concave*, of the *relief* of the principal side. Of this remarkable system No. 7, Plate 13, represents an excellent example. It is a silver coin of the city of Sybaris, with the initial letters of the name of the city ΣΥ (SY) placed beneath the type, which is to be read, in the archaic manner, from right to left, noticing at the same time that the sigma (Σ) is placed face downwards (Μ), which was the early manner of writing it.

To illustrate the curious methods adopted in some of the reverses of early coins, I have travelled somewhat out of the chronological order of the subject; to return to which, I must now refer to the coinage of Ægina, where the most ancient silver coinage is supposed to have taken place, in emulation, probably, of the gold coinage of Asia Minor. The specimen I have given of the Æginetan coinage, No. 6, Plate 13, is not one of the very earliest examples, yet it still exhibits the primeval form of the punch mark on the reverse; while the national type, the tortoise, is found in exceedingly striking relief on the obverse.

It would be inconsistent, in a mere introduction to the British coinage, to dwell minutely on the gradual progress of the Greek coinage towards perfection; I shall, therefore, only give an example as that of one of the many intermediate stages, followed by a single specimen, exhibiting the highest perfection to which that branch of Greek art ever attained. The intermediate example I have selected is an Athenian coin, No. 8, Plate 13. Its principal type is the head of Athena or Minerva, the tutelary divinity of the state. It has for the reverse her chief emblem, the owl, with the three initial letters of the name of the city, ΑΘΕ. The type of the reverse, it will be seen, though itself in relief, is still sunk within the square indent of the punch, which indent, however, soon disappeared altogether, after a subject in relief had once been introduced within it.

The perfection to which the Grecian coinage very rapidly attained, when the first archaic difficulties were overcome, cannot be better exemplified than by one of the Syracusan medallions (No. 9, Plate 13) struck in a Grecian colony at a period when Greek monetary art had attained its fullest development. The obverse bears for its type the head of Proserpine, the daughter of Ceres, accompanied by dolphins, one of the ancient symbols of the city of Syracuse. The reverse represents a victor, at the Olympic games, receiving a wreath from a Victory; a type not unusual on coins of the period, but which became very common in the reign of Philip of Macedon, when it was

made to form the reverse of the gold staters, which he issued in such vast numbers that they became known by the name of Philips; the device having been adopted by him, it is said, in allusion to his victories at the Olympic games. These Philips were in such general circulation that other states imitated them long after the reign of that prince, and such imitations still passed under the old name of Philips for many centuries. The example No. 11, Plate 13, is one of the original coins. Later Sicilian copies of the coins of the Macedonian Prince were distinguished by the national Sicilian symbol, the triquetra, or group of three legs, a device originally adopted in allusion to the triangular form of the island. The original inscription, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, in the genitive case (Of Philip), implying "Money of Philip," was replaced by ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝ (Of the Syracusans). Up to this period no human portrait was ever placed upon a coin. But the following example, No. 10, Plate 13, a tetradrachm of Alexander the Great, is thought by some to bear the actual portrait of the great Macedonian conqueror. If so, it is Hercules in the features of Alexander, and not simply and boldly the portrait of Alexander himself. With his successors, however, those great lieutenants who, out of the fragments of his empire, created for themselves vast independent sovereignties, a new epoch arose, in which the ancient faith, and the hierarchic power, were shaken to their foundations. A band of military princes no longer hesitated to displace the effigies of the gods from the national coinages, and substitute their own; though at first always under some pretence of deification,—Lysimachus as a descendant of Bacchus, Seleucus of Apollo, &c., and their portraits were represented clothed in the attributes of those deities. The illustration I have selected of the first example of direct human portraiture on national coin, is a gold stater of Ptolemy Lagus (No. 12, Plate 13), whose share of the great Macedonian empire was the rich province of Egypt. The head is an undoubted portrait, and the reverse has the Ptolemaic eagle, which from this epoch figures on nearly all the reverses of the Greco-Egyptian coinage.

The Greek coinage, even before the period we have arrived at in our present summary view of its progress, had extended its principles through the north of Greece as far as transalpine Gaul; and meeting there with similar currents of influence, radiating from another centre of Greek civilization, situated in the ancient colony of Massilia, now Marseilles, the coins of Greece spread still farther northward, reaching even the remote island of Britain, where imitations of the Philips, and of the silver coinage of Alexander, soon began to supersede the Celtic ring-money, which, like the new kind of money that was now displacing it, had also originated in the East, and travelled westward by a similar route, though at a much earlier period. In describing the earliest British money I shall have occasion again to refer to this Oriental stream of civilization flowing westward.

It has been shown that the first coinage of Asia Minor consisted entirely of gold; a circumstance to be accounted for by the abundance of gold in that region; the fabulous richness of the sands of the Pactolus, which flowed near Sardis, being known to every schoolboy. European Greece, on the other

hand, was celebrated for its rich silver mines, and the first coinages of the European Greek states were of silver. But in Italy and Sicily, where copper abounded, the earliest coinage was one of copper, or rather a mixture of copper, &c., termed *Æs*, a term, perhaps, represented by our "bronze." The *litra* in Sicily and the *libra* in central Italy were the unit upon which this bronze coinage was founded; and this weight is the parent of our modern troy weight, as it was divided into twelve uncie or ounces. The pound weight of copper is said to have first received a state impress in Rome, to pass as coin, in the reign of Servius Tullius, about 578 B.C. This gigantic coin, or rather current ingot, was made in a square form, and was termed an *Æs*, or *As*, that is, a "piece of bronze." There were pieces of one, two, four, and even ten pounds. The style of this money may be seen by reference to Plate 14, which is a piece of five pounds. The engraving is taken from the celebrated specimen once in the Pembroke collection, which was termed in the catalogue a *Quadrussis*, but it weighed four pounds nine ounces eleven pennyweights and three grains,* which plainly shows that it must have been intended for a piece of five pounds, and not four. These pieces, from being impressed with the images of cattle, such as oxen, sheep, &c., were called "pecunia," from the Latin *pecus*, cattle; and from this source we have our term "pecuniary." Indeed, the early Roman coinage furnishes nearly all the monetary terms of modern Europe.

The full pound of copper, or *Æs*, in these pieces was gradually reduced† to nine ounces, and about that time the ancient square form was abandoned for a circular one. An example of the *æs* in this form will be found in Plate 15, No. 1. The head of the bifrontal Janus, or Saturn, as some deem it, was adopted at this time for the type of the *æs*; and a perfect reverse was adopted, exhibiting the prow of a ship, accompanied by the numeral I.‡ There were many subdivisions of this coinage—the *uncia*, or piece of one ounce, distinguished by a single semi-globule, or raised dot under the ship, with the head of Minerva on the obverse; the *Quincunx*, or five-ounce piece, distinguished by five dots, &c. There were also circular pieces as high as the *Decussis*, or pieces of ten *ases*, but none such are known of the period when the *æs* was of nine ounces. The *decussis*, engraved in Plate 15, No. 2, the value of which is indicated by the numeral X. behind the head of Roma was struck at a period when the national standard of the *æs* had been reduced to four ounces, and the twelve uncial divisions in proportion, though still termed ounces, while in fact only a-third of that weight. In the reign of Augustus Caesar, the *æs* was so much farther reduced as to be no larger than a modern copper farthing. At that time, however, the *Sestertius*, of

* This fine monument was sold for £22 10s.

† See Humphreys' *Ancient Coins and Medals*, Chap. xvi., and Humphreys' *Coin Collector's Manual*, Vol. i.

‡ These large bronze coins of the early times of Rome were not produced by the punch, like the coins of Greece, but were cast, which accounts for there being no traditional feeling among the monetary artists of Rome in favour of the preservation and decoration of the primal punch mark, which was continued on Greek coins as a venerable feature long after the time when sufficient skill in the art had been achieved to produce a perfect reverse.

the value of two *æses* and a-half, became the coin by which all sums were calculated, and, without changing its name, it afterwards became worth four *æses*. The half of this was then the *Dupondius*, which was in fact a double *æs* of the decreased standard, and its half was the *Assarion*, an ancient name of the *æs*; so that the once magnificent coin, the head of the Roman coinage, eventually stood last, and lowest.

The Romans did not issue a silver coinage till the year 281 B.C., when its standard was founded upon that of the Greek *Drachma*. The *drachma* being at that time of the value of ten Roman *æses*, the new silver coin was termed a *Denarius*, or piece of ten *æses*. This piece became eventually the parent of the silver pennies of our Anglo-Saxon coinage, and of those of France, where it preserved its ancient name; the silver pieces of France, corresponding to our pennies, being called *Deniers*, a term which, in provincial districts of that country, is still in use as a general name for money. The Romans did not coin gold till 207 B.C. The coin which eventually became their standard gold coin was called the *Aureus*, or "gold piece," and was worth twenty-five *Denarii*.

Such was the state at which the Roman coinage had arrived at the time of the reduction of Britain to the state of a Roman province, in which Roman coins soon superseded those of the natives (to be described hereafter), and formed the sole circulating medium of the whole of Romanized Britain for four centuries; leaving, doubtless, after the termination of the Roman dominion, many traces of their character, though less than might be expected. Roman art, however, influenced the style of our coinage a second time through the Lower Empire,—the coins of Constantinople being probably the types of some of those Saxon and Norman coins by which the last degenerate remains of our former Roman currency were so completely superseded, and upon which the basis of our present monetary system was established.

There is a great similarity, even in style of art, from the tenth to the twelfth century A.D., between the coins of the Lower Empire and those of the whole of continental Europe; and the former present no marked superiority of execution over those of comparatively barbarous nations, so low had some branches of art sunk at that period even at Constantinople; and yet the Byzantine influence was the only one then felt; for it may be said to have entirely moulded the arts of the whole of Northern Europe at that period. Its influence, in fact, in the central and eastern portions, remained active for some centuries later; in Russia, as recently as the seventeenth century,—and, indeed, it is not extinct in that country even at the present day, as was strikingly shown in the well-marked Byzantine character of the Muscovite jewellery sent to the Great International Exhibition of 1851. Having thus brought down our sketch of the ancient coinages till they are fairly linked on to the modern series, the next chapter will refer to the earliest known money of Britain.

CHAPTER II.

BRITISH RING-MONEY, THE EARLIEST COINED MONEY OF THE BRITONS,
AND THE COINS OF THE ROMANS RELATING TO BRITAIN.

THE introductory chapter, in which I have endeavoured to trace, in a brief summary, the origin of coinage in the Grecianized provinces of Asia Minor, and its development and extension in Greece and Italy, to the establishment of the Roman power in Britain, will have more fully prepared a reader, previously unacquainted with the subject, to appreciate the details into which we are about to enter, concerning the earliest kind of money that circulated in Britain.

I believe, notwithstanding the continued dissent of several eminent numismatists, that sufficient evidence exists to prove that the earliest kind of metallic currency in these islands consisted in a kind of ring-money, such as that described in the preceding chapter, and also, very probably, of "jewel-money"—that is, of gold and silver jewels adjusted to a certain weight, which on occasion were used as money. There is no doubt that the metallic currencies of the classes just alluded to were preceded in all countries by such simple substitutes for barter as lumps of salt of a certain weight, strips of leather, or shells of some particular kind, &c. Carew, in fact, in his *Survey of Cornwall*, published in 1602, mentions the finding, sixty years before, in the well of a very ancient castle, of certain "leather coins," which still bore a distinct impress of some kind. It is, however, impossible to conjecture to what period these curious pieces of leather belong, and whether they were, as imagined by Carew, "leather coins," as he terms them.

I have previously stated that the early ring-money of the East found its way to the West and North at a very early period, where it was still retained long after regular coins were known and used. That ring-money still circulated in Britain in the last century before the Christian era, is proved by the testimony of Cæsar, to be hereafter referred to; and that it was in use in Ireland still more recently, is shown by the continual discovery of rings of a description, of which specimens will be found in Plates 16 and 16 A, and to which it would require much ingenuity to assign any other purpose. Some of them are attributed by Betham and other antiquarians to a comparatively late epoch. In Sweden and Norway, indeed, the use of this ring-money continued till the twelfth century, or later,* as it is mentioned by SNORRO STURLESON in the *Heimskringla*,† or *Chronicles of*

* This kind of money is said, however, to have been renewed by King John, during the pecuniary difficulties of his reign.

† See Mr. Laing's interesting translation.



the *Sea Kings of Norway*, written at that period; Harold Hardrada being spoken of as

“He whom the ravens watch with care,
He who the *gold rings* does not spare:”

In another place, the King Olaf Haroldson pays the Skald Thormod for his song with a gold ring, weighing half a mark. It appears that there were also rings of a mark, and two marks, and some of much greater dimensions. The word *Bang* is, in ancient Norse, a ring, and the plural *Bangar*, rings. This term is doubtless derived from the same Oriental root as the modern Anglo-Indian term *Bangle*; the name given to the gold armlets still worn by the native women of many districts of India. One of the Norse laws of the Frostethings—that is, of the district of Froste—made probably about the year 1220, says,—if a possessor of land wound a man, he shall pay a fine of twelve *bangar* to the king, and it is stated that each *bang* shall weigh twelve *aurar*, which is the plural of the Norse term for an ounce. Here is clearly a reference to an established ring-money, each ring being adjusted to a certain weight. It is thought also that the Saxon monetary term *Mancus* is derived from a similar source, denoting its origin in a previous system of ring-money; the word from which it is supposed to be derived being “manica,” a bracelet. The difference between the mediæval ring-money and that which the Egyptian officials are seen weighing in Plate 13, is, that each of the Egyptian rings were, probably, not accurately adjusted to any special weight, and thus belong to the period of weighed money, an earlier phase of monetary progress; while the ring-money of Britain and the west of Europe was so far in advance of the Egyptian stage as to have each ring adjusted to a special weight, for which it might pass without weighing—the ring-money in this stage becoming closely analogous to true coinage. In Ireland this kind of money appears to have been much more plentiful than in England, as nearly all the specimens in our collections (mostly of gold) were discovered there.

The following brief account of British ring-money will be found necessary in this place, as immediately preceding a native coinage in Britain, and the Saxon and Anglo-Norman money in Ireland.

The large torques and also armlets worn by the Gauls and other nations were, as I have previously stated, a kind of “*jewel-money*,” being adjusted to a certain weight, to pass as money if required. Cæsar tells us that the Gauls “use for money gold and iron rings of *certain weight*,” and he makes a similar statement in relation to Britain. The latter kind (the iron) have nearly all perished by oxidation; but Borlase, in his valuable history of Cornwall, refers to the discovery of pieces of iron of a singular character, which may possibly have been the iron ring-money described by Cæsar. These pieces, which were discovered in the seventeenth century, were small, thin plates of a nearly square form, many of them about an inch and a quarter long by an inch broad, some larger and some smaller, but each size appearing to be approximately adjusted to a certain weight. They were all perforated

with a small hole in the centre, by means of which they might be threaded upon a thong of leather for convenient carriage. In general character they strongly resemble the Chinese money belonging to a very remote period, probably anterior to that of the circular disks, perforated with a small round or square hole in the centre, and which, according to Mr. Williams, were coined about 1118 B.C. This last-named kind of Chinese ring-money, or rather money capable, by means of the hole, of being carried like rings, was a simple disk of metal, without any stamp or impress of any kind. The principle of looping coins together by means of a hole in the centre of the coin, is still practised in China, even in the present improved state of its copper coinage, all the coins having a rather large square perforation made for that purpose. The gold rings of Britain are more plentiful than the iron; those of silver and brass, of a graduated weight, being also found. The first money-rings were probably made in that form to prevent the friction which would take place when carried in a bag, as was customary, either in the form of pieces of wire, or angular pieces of metal; which were doubtless the first forms of the metallic medium. The earliest examples appear to exemplify this origin, for they are always open at one side—being, in fact, pieces of wire, of a certain length, bent round. The two ends of the wire, which were at first plain, were, in after periods, singularly flattened, and ornamented. The transition from the simple piece of wire bent round to the later decorative forms may be perfectly exhibited in all its stages in a good series of Irish ring-money. The specimens Nos. 1 to 9, Plate 16, will illustrate this progress, No. 1 being the most common form, evidently made from a simple piece of wire, of a certain thickness, bent round, and which had been first cut to such a length as would insure a particular weight.

Even in this early stage of monetary issues forgeries occurred; and Sir W. Betham informs us that he has seen counterfeits of brass so neatly plated with gold as to defy detection. It is indeed a well-known fact that there were forgeries of the earliest coinages of Greece, the laws of Solon having provided punishment for falsifiers of the public money. The very earliest ring-money found in Ireland appears to belong to a period when each ring might pass by *tale* instead of *weight*, in a manner analogous to that of true coins; the earlier kinds having been weighed in bulk, as shown in Plate 13.

The smallest rings, upon being weighed by Sir W. Betham, were found to be exactly one half-pennyweight, which appears to have been the unit by which the larger sizes were graduated. There are pieces of one pennyweight twelve grains, equal to three of the half-pennyweight; of two pennyweights twelve grains, equal to five; of five pennyweights, equal to ten; of eleven pennyweights, equal to twenty-two; and, in short, up to twelve ounces, and thirteen ounces seven pennyweights, equal respectively to 486 and 534 of the half-pennyweight ring. There are some others containing fractional thirds, which Sir W. Betham conjectures may have been so graduated for the convenience of small change. If this be the case, we have in the Irish ring-money a system almost as perfect as that of real coins—which, after all, may be but a modification of it, and for which we may have been indebted to the

mere personal vanity of a prince in wishing to place his own signet on the money of the state, for which purpose a solid round form was evidently more convenient than a ring.

No. 10, Plate 16, is a specimen of the cast brass ring-money, formed of closed rings, which were also adjusted to a graduated system, founded upon the half-pennyweight as the unit, though I have not seen any of less than the double of that weight. The brass rings are discovered in immense quantities in Ireland, from the weight of one pennyweight to that of several ounces. Many of these rings are found joined together, double and treble, as in the specimen No. 10, Plate 16. The specimens Nos. 1 to 9, Plate 16, will, as stated, exhibit the gradations of fabric which the ring-money assumed—the latter, and more decorative forms, having given rise to the wildest conjectures, as to the use of these objects, by our elder antiquaries.

No. 12, Plate 16, is a group of brass rings looped one within the other, which perhaps exhibits the method of carrying money of this kind. Sir W Betham, finding the weight of the smaller gold rings correspond to one half-pennyweight, *troy weight*, was led to think that the weight used by the Celtic nations was of the same origin as the troy weight, which he conjectures to have been the standard weight of the Phœnicians, still prevalent in the East as late as the time of the first Crusade, at which period it was again brought to Europe, and first used for all weighed commodities at the great fair of Troyes, in France, from which circumstance it is said to have received its modern name.

A kind of ring-money, precisely similar to that of Ireland, is not only found in England, as I have previously mentioned, but also in Scotland.

No. 9, Plate 16, weighing fifteen ounces, which, reckoning gold at £4 per ounce, is of the intrinsic value of £60. It was found in a bog in the county of Galway, Ireland, where great numbers have been at different times discovered. No. 8, in the same Plate, is of the intrinsic value of £15, and was also found in Ireland; one of precisely similar shape and weight having been discovered in Scotland, in an urn, which was exhibited by Mr Lethuillier in the year 1731, long before the use of these interesting relics of antiquity had been even guessed at.

Some of the larger specimens of this ring-money are very splendid and curious. I have seen pieces which might be carried most conveniently over one shoulder and under the other. The torque worn round the neck of the Gallic warriors, most frequently of pure gold, and weighing sometimes above four pounds, was of this kind, and was adjusted to a certain weight as money, in addition to being a personal ornament. One found at Pattingham, in Staffordshire, in 1700, of fine gold, weighed three pounds two ounces. It was four feet long, very bright and flexible, and could be bent round the arm, the middle, or the neck, and extended again to its former shape with comparative ease. When worn, it was fastened by a simple hook wrought at each extremity, like those in the specimen No. 1, Plate 16 A. Similar ornaments, as bracelets or anklets, are still worn in several parts of British

India, which are also of equally pure gold, and, from their extreme ductility, can be wrapped round the wrist, and will retain the position in which they are placed without any fastening. No. 1, Plate 16 A, which is a portion of a torque of the size of the original, will convey a good idea of the magnitude and form of those ornaments. It is taken from one of bronze, which was discovered in Somersetshire, and engraved in the *Archæologia*. Hence it appears that bronze ornaments of this kind were worn as well as of gold. This bronze torque is of exactly the same form as the gold ones previously alluded to, but only weighs two pounds. As the Gauls were probably the first to introduce both the torques and the smaller rings, used as common money, into Central and Western Europe, it may naturally be supposed that such objects are frequently found in France, which is the case; and some very magnificent specimens were very recently discovered near St. Quentin. These splendid relics, which have all gone to the crucible, were disinterred in 1832—their intrinsic value being equal to £1,089. 14s. 1d. Drawings were fortunately made from them, and published in the *Archæologia*, specimens from which will be found (on a reduced scale) in Plate 16 A, Nos. 4, 5, 6, and 7. They were very beautifully wrought, with minute patterns, and some of them weighed upwards of four pounds. They were all without the small hooks at the extremities, their ductility being sufficient to enable the wearer to close them without a fastening. The muscular force, however, required to place the flat ends firmly together, for which purpose they have evidently been intended, must have been very great. One of these ornaments was found so closed; yet some antiquarians have thought that they were intended to be worn round the neck, remaining partially open, in which they differ from the regular torque, which was, in fact, as its name imports, a twisted annula of two or more bars intertwined; while the *μανιακῆς*, mentioned by Pausanias and others, was, on the other hand, solid, and these specimens have, therefore, been termed *μανιακῆς* in the interesting letter describing them, which was read to the Society of Antiquarians in February, 1836.

That such ornaments were of very ancient origin, as marks of distinction, insignia of office, &c., is proved by many allusions of ancient authors, and by passages in the sacred writings, where one kind is designated רָבִיד (Rabeed), which literally signifies a twisted chain or wreath; and the Chaldean term *manak* is used to express another similar ornament, the parent perhaps of the *μανιακῆς*. After the well-known victory of Manlius over a Gaulish chief, and the capture of his torque, the Roman leader was allowed to wear it in commemoration of the event; and the permission to use such ornaments, as marks of honour, were common among the Romans after that time. The “torquati” became, in fact, a conspicuous portion of the Roman army, forming a kind of legion of honour. The great weight of these torques and manacks, worn as ornaments, appears extraordinary; but the examples cited are nothing to the honorary, or rather tributary, torques sent to Augustus by the Gauls, which weighed 100 pounds. Great numbers of these ornaments are always mentioned by the Romans among *barbara spolia*, after wars with the Gauls and other northern nations, 1,471 being mentioned by Livy as

having been taken from the Boii by Cornelius Scipio, and carried to Rome.

To return to such rings as it would appear were made entirely as a kind of metallic currency, I should state that while some of our eminent numismatists, as Mr. Dickenson and Mr. Sloane, assert the former existence of such a currency; and also, that the rings so frequently found, and which have been described above, are actual specimens of it—others among our *savants* in numismatology entirely dissent from this view. In proof of the ancient use of ring-money in Britain new evidence has, however, been brought forward of the use of such money being still prevalent in Africa. Among other instances, it has been shown that the Foulah-jolaf and other African tribes bring gold ring-money to Sierra Leone. It is stated, at the same time, that these people never use such rings as ornaments, for which purpose they prefer *plates* of gold. It is evident, therefore, that they make their gold into rings to impart to it a monetary character, the form of which has been preserved from generation to generation from a very remote epoch. The loop-money of Ceylon, commonly known as the fish-hook money, also appears to be a modern modification of some ancient system of ring-money. Tavernier mentions this kind of money; stating that all the people possessed the right of coining it, by the king's permission. The old traveller says, in reference to its loop-like form,—“Tis in the form of a fish-hook, and pure silver, purer than *pieces of eight*; for if they do suspect the goodness of it, their custom is to heat it red hot in the fire, and then put it into water, and if it be not pure white it is not *current money*.”

Later pieces of this kind of money, recently dug up in Ceylon, corroborate Tavernier's description. They are formed of a flat wire, doubled into a loop; and, according to Professor Wilson's description, are stamped with certain inscriptions, such as “Sultan Ali Aadil Shah, struck at Lari, a stamped Daugh;” daugh being the Persian denomination of a small silver coin. These, as shown by the name of the prince, were issued as late as the year 1659 A.D.

All this proves the ring or loop to have been an ancient monetary form, which is still in use in many parts of the world; while in others, it was so till a comparatively recent period. As an example of the preference still felt by some of the Arab tribes for this ancient form of money, a curious example is cited. Lieutenant Cruttenden, assistant political agent at Aden, had great difficulty in getting some necessary supplies at Socotra in exchange for dollars; but having been advised to have his dollars made into small rings, he found his ring-money readily taken in exchange for the produce he required. Mr. Dickenson has suggested that the ring-money found so plentifully in Ireland may have been imported from Africa (perhaps through Spain) at a period anterior to the Roman invasion of Britain, in the way of ordinary commercial exchange. But Mr. Sloane considers it a native currency, coined in the country; where its use would appear to date from a very remote antiquity, as pieces of bone of similar character have been found, evidently belonging to a period anterior to that of the adoption of

a metallic medium. Silver as well as gold ring-money is found in Ireland; and specimens are also found marked for division in halves, as some of the Saxon silver pennies were at a later period.

That, comparatively speaking, no ornaments or money of this kind should have been found in England, is to be accounted for from the circumstance that Ireland remained independent long after the complete subjugation of Britain by the Romans; at which time the metallic currency of every kind was in all probability recoined into the form of the national money of Rome. It is also to be observed, that no monuments have been discovered to prove that the Irish had any other kind of money than ring-money, as no coins earlier than the period of the Saxon and Danish invasions have been found in that country. The Britons, on the other hand, nearer neighbours of Gaul, had received through that country imitations of the coined money of the Greeks, of the "medallic" form, which was possibly fast displacing the less convenient ring-money, even before the Roman conquest.

We must here dismiss the subject of the ring-money, and enter upon the consideration of the first positive coins of the Britons. Cæsar, in his *Commentaries*, in speaking of the civilization of Britain, says,—“They have both bronze and gold money, or, instead of money, rings adjusted to a certain weight.” The coins alluded to by Cæsar were, without doubt, those well-known coins of a decidedly Greek character, which are indeed rude copies of Grecian models, more particularly of the coins of Philip II. of Macedon. It is conjectured that the treasure brought by the Gauls from Greece, after the pillage of Delphi, in the third century B.C., consisted principally of the above-mentioned coins of Philip, which, getting into general circulation in Gaul as a standard currency, it was found convenient to make other coins as nearly as possible of the same form and value. Other Greek coins, however, had previously made their way to transalpine Gaul, where, as well as these gold Philips, they had been rudely imitated. Among these were the celebrated tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, the principal type of which was imitated not only in silver, but also in copper. From the close connection of the Gauls and Britons, it may naturally be supposed that, in their various dealings, many of these Greek coins found their way to Britain, where they were in like manner imitated. The British imitations, however, are quite distinct from the Gaulish, and are never found except in Britain—a sufficient proof of their native origin. Many of them are exceedingly rude, and the resemblance to the originals they were copied from is scarcely to be traced, except by seeing a large collection, in which all the intermediate gradations of rudeness occur. These coins are not somewhat thin and flat, like the Roman money, but thick, after the Grecian manner; and slightly concave, or “dished,” as it has been termed—a peculiarity not generally found in the Greek originals.

The period at which the early Celtic ring-money of Britain became partially superseded by a currency of a “medallic” form may be possibly arrived at, at all events approximately, by means of the following data. About 600 B.C., the Phœnician traffic with the Cassiterides (the British

Isles) is supposed to have commenced. This was, no doubt, carried on, on the part of the more civilized Phœnicians, by means of strings of beads and small articles of jewelry, for which they easily obtained the coveted tin (so essential to the composition of "bronze") from the ignorant Britons.

About 300 B.C. the Greeks of the colony of Massilia, on the south coast of Gaul, became rivals of the Phœnicians in this lucrative commerce, and, no doubt, knew how, as well as their predecessors, to drive good bargains with the poor western tin merchants. It was, however, probably from the Greeks of Massilia, that the Britons first received specimens of the gold Philips, which were probably, in the first instance, not regarded as money, as not being in the orthodox ring form, but treasured as exquisite works of art, and probably mounted in rude Celtic chasings, as the centres of brooches and other ornaments. Coins mounted in embossed or enamelled ornaments exist in the French national cabinet, and in several English collections. They are sometimes linked together, to form necklaces and bracelets. The second Punic war, 200 B.C., put an end to the Phœnician traffic with Britain, which was, however, continued by the Greeks. But the route of the Mediterranean becoming unsafe, the traffic was carried on through Gaul; at which time the trade was diverted from Cornwall, and centred in a depot formed in the Isle of Wight, from whence the British tin was exported to the Gaulish coast. Thirty days' journey being required to reach the Rhone across great part of the Gallic territory, the Gauls, as intermediate merchants, soon monopolized all the active part of the trade. When the trade thus fell into the hands of a kindred race, a more equitable system of trading was, without doubt, adopted, and the Gaulish merchants began to pay handsomely for British produce in gold "Philips," which they had learned to copy from those of the Greeks, which, for their unvarying weight and purity, had been gradually establishing themselves as the most desirable and trustworthy medium of all commercial exchanges.

From the debased Gallic copies of these Greek staters, the Britons learned to make still more debased imitations; at first, debased only in the art displayed in their fabrication, the purity of the metal and the weight being scrupulously adhered to; by which means the character of these pieces, as a general circulating medium, was maintained. In order to understand the curious kind of artistic debasement which took place in the barbaric copies of these celebrated coins of Philip II. of Macedon, it will be necessary to refer to the types of one of the original coins engraved at Plate 13, No. 11. On the obverse is a beautiful laureated head of Apollo, most exquisitely designed and executed. On the reverse is a *biga*, or two-horse chariot, said to have been adopted as a monetary type by Philip, in commemoration of his victories at the Olympic games. Beneath the horses is the simple name ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ, in the genitive case, (of Philip), by which is to be understood, after the usual Greek manner, "money of Philip." After a short time the inscription was abandoned on the Gaulish imitations, as having no meaning in a Gallic point of view; and on the British imitations it never appeared at all. It is from this circumstance that the series of British imitations of

the Philips, up to a certain epoch, are classed in our collections as the "anepigraphic" series, or those without inscriptions. There were, for small change, silver, and even copper imitations of the Philips, which had also their fixed relative value. The representations 3 and 5, Plate 1, belong to this series;* and without some explanation it will be difficult to understand in what way they can be called *copies* of the beautiful Greek coin just referred to: a little examination will, however, show their resemblance, rude though it be. On the obverse of No. 3, which is a silver coin, the beautiful head of Apollo, of the original, may be distinctly traced, though the forehead is only represented by a broad raised band, the eye by a dot, the point of the nose by another dot, and the lips by two short raised lines terminating in dots. The hair is reproduced in a similarly rude fashion. On the reverse the departure from the exquisite design of the original is still more remarkable. With a little ingenuity, however, the form, intended to be that of a galloping horse, may be easily made out; and in front, an attempt to represent (most probably) the second horse. The wheel of the chariot, for want of room elsewhere, has been placed under the lower horse; and an almost indescribable object above the other horse is evidently meant to represent the driver of the chariot, leaning over the horses with one arm bent towards them, in imitation of the arm holding the goad, or whip, in the original. On the obverse of these imitations it is, in most instances, the laurel wreath which is the object most prominently seized upon by the untaught Celtic artist, and in this respect No. 3 is rather an exceptional specimen. No. 5, another silver specimen is, however, a curious example of the barbaric treatment of the laurel wreath. It is one of a very late epoch, in which it is evident that the original meaning of the wreath has been in great part lost, being a copy of an already almost unintelligible imitation. The wreath runs horizontally across the lower part of the coin, divided by a straight line, which in better copies rudely represented the fillet or ribbon by which the wreath was fastened at the back of the head. The attempt to represent an eye, or eyes, between two lines, is of the last degree of rudeness, as is the execution of those portions of the device which are mere remnants of debased attempts to represent the features, and the hair. The reverse is an almost inconceivably rude attempt at a horse; four upright lines representing the legs, and two crescents, the body; while the head and tail are equally unsuccessful. All attempts to represent either the chariot or the driver have been abandoned, and a group of dots substituted as more easy of execution, and perhaps more agreeable in effect than the contorted lines found on other specimens.

No. 2, Plate 17, is a gold coin of a somewhat better period of Celtic art. The horse has some flowing lines about it, but the mane is represented by dots only, and the tail resembles a palm branch; the wheel of the chariot is represented by a circle, with a dot in the middle, and it is repeated in a varied form above; both shapes being plainly arbitrary copies of a debased

* They are, however, very possibly of a period later even than some of those with names of Princes, as it is now thought most probable that the rudest were those last executed.

model, by an artist who did not know the meaning of the objects he copied; for he has repeated the wheel on the shoulder of the horse, to give a little additional richness, and has placed one of a smaller size behind the ears, probably with the same view. On the obverse a curious Celtic ornament has been substituted for the remnants of the head, which reminds one of the Yorkshire painter, who, having undertaken to retouch a family portrait, in which he egregiously failed—after utterly spoiling it—at once boldly painted it out, and put in its place a neat red flower-pot, with a rose-bush, considering his alteration an improvement. No. 5, Plate 17, is a much better imitation of a Greek coin, as regards the head, than any of those described. The head is probably taken from that of the silver tetradrachms of Alexander the Great, while the reverse still represents the biga reverse of the staters of Philip. Coins of this class are not strictly British, being found principally in the Channel Islands, especially Jersey. They form interesting links in the series of Gallic imitations of the Greek coinage, of which specimens exist from the most barbarous up to really fair copies of the beautiful originals; the best having been most probably fabricated in the neighbourhood of the Greek colony at Marseilles.

Of the British copies belonging to the anepigraphic series, the best are those belonging to southern counties, near the trading depots of the Isle of Wight,—the worst, those of the Brigantes, a powerful but rude tribe, occupying the districts bordering on Caledonia. In the rudest copies a horse, apparently with eight legs, sometimes appears, evidently an effort to represent the second horse; while the laurel wreath, in some curious forms of debasement, sports into a kind of cross, the interstices of which are filled up with rude crescent-like dashes, evidently the remnants of the curling hair of the original.

A short time before the first Roman invasion, princes of the British tribes appear to have begun to place their names upon this rude coinage; and those of several princes are now ascertained, beyond a doubt, to be preserved on the coins in question, while scarcely any other record of their existence has come down to us. Camden, Speed, and others of our early antiquaries, were the first to suggest that the names of British princes were to be found on these coins; but their conjectures were, in many instances, so wide of the now ascertained truth, that Eckhel, Mionnet, and Sestini, refused to put any faith in the existence of British coins bearing the names of British princes. Mionnet classes even the coins of Cunobelin with those of *chefs Gaulois*. Several British antiquaries were equally incredulous. Bishop Nicholson, in the *English Historical Library* (Part 1, Chap. 3), says of British coins, "I take them to be amulets," although the clearer-sighted Camden, and the intelligent Speed, though both mistaken in particular attributions, yet fully believed in the authenticity of these interesting historical monuments. This opposition, no doubt, principally arose from the persevering determination of our antiquaries, up to the close of the last century, to twist many imperfect inscriptions on these native coins into the name of the popular British hero, Caractacus, none of which attempts can be sus-

tained; and up to the present time no coin bearing that name, or a portion of it, has been found. Sufficient, however, has been recently done to prove the existence of British coins, bearing the names of British princes, beyond the shadow of a doubt; and the names of Tasciovan, Commius, Cunobelin, Dumnovellaunus, Epaticeus, Epillus, and others, having been satisfactorily established.

With the exception of that of Cunobelin, and one or two others, however, the recovery of these interesting names belonging to our ancient history is quite recent. The correct reading of the inscriptions on many of these coins, such as TAS. F., TASCI F., TASCI FIL, TASCIOVAN F., and other varieties of the same inscription, was the first step in the right direction; and has led to the rapid elucidation of many obscure points connected with the coinage of the British princes. It was on the 24th of February, 1844, that the true meaning of TASC. F., was first explained, in Mr. Birch's paper, read on that day before the members of the Numismatic Society. Camden had imagined that the word TASCIA was a term of the British mint, signifying tribute money to Cæsar, from the Latin *Taxatio*, spelt Tasc, because the Britons had no X in their alphabet. A more recent numismatist has conceived the word Tasciovan, to mean a ruler, and changing the Fil into FIR., has made of the inscription (completing the word Cunob., which is often found in the same coins) Cunobelini Tasciovani Firbolg, which he interprets as "Cunobelin, the leader of the Firbolgi," a Belgic tribe which had settled in Britain. Mr. Birch, however, on examining the contemporaneous Roman coins of Augustus, found the inscription AVGVSTV DIVI F. This was well known to refer to the adoption of Augustus, by the deified Cæsar (Julius), and the inscription is known to read, "Augustus Divi Filius"—"Augustus, son of the god." This led Mr. Birch to the interpretation of the mysterious F. of the British coins. It was evident that the Tasc. F. occurred most frequently on the coins of Cunobelin, whose name, abbreviated or in full, often occurred on the obverse or reverse of the same coin. He therefore boldly read "Cunobelinus Tasciovani Filius"—Cunobelin, the son of Tasciovanus; and this successful reading at once settled that point and many others. Tasciovan was evidently one of the greatest of the British chieftains about the time of Cæsar's invasion; and it is natural, as hereditary right began to define itself about the time of Cunobelin, that he should style himself the son of Tasciovan, as giving prestige and authority to his title, after the manner of his cotemporary, Augustus, at whose court he was educated, doubtless by the wish of his father. He there adopted many of the refinements of Rome, but especially a wish to imitate the Romans in the style of his coinage, for which he employed Roman artists. The truth of this reading of the F. and FIL. is rendered more obvious by others of an analogous character, which have since been brought to bear upon the point as additional evidence. A coin of Vosimos, a Gaulish rix or regulus, has the legend VOSIMOS DVMNOCO NEPOS—"Vosimus, the grandson of Dumnoco;" and with this clue we may safely interpret the ATPILI. NE. found on a British coin—as ATPILI NEPOS, the grandson of Atpilus; while on the coins of the Helvetic chief,

Orgeto-rix, a similar form is found. The Romans, it would appear, favoured the principle of hereditary right, as it often gave them a handle for interference; and it is natural to conceive that it would be found advantageous to a chief to place on his coinage the nature of the hereditary claim which secured the patronage of Rome.

Having established the identity of Tasciovan as a British prince, and the father of the now well-known Cunobelin, we may go back to examine his coins as those of one of the first British princes whose names appear on their money, marking a distinct step from the anepigraphic or uninscribed coinage of the immediately preceding epoch. Tasciovan, or Tascivanus, it was once thought might be the Taxiomagulus, *i. e.*, Taxio-magol, or "great chief," mentioned by Cæsar. The recent finding of a coin, with the letters TAX, has, however, led to the belief that this new coin belongs to the true Taxiomagus, or Taxiomagulus, who was in fact a king of Kent; while it has never been supposed, upon any good ground, that Tasciovan, whose capital was Verlamio ever had rule in Kent.

The British princes bearing the names Tasciovan, Commius, Andobratu, and others less certainly ascertained, appear to have held rule contemporaneously, with the titles of rix, rex, or regulus, over large districts of Eastern and Southern Britain, about the years 60 or 70 B.C. The dominions of Tasciovan probably extended over all the regions occupied by the Segontiaci (now Surrey) and Hampshire, and also those of the Trinobantes, occupying a region corresponding to a great part of Hertford, Essex, and Sussex. His chief city appears to have been Verlamio, near the modern St. Albans. The coins attributed to Tasciovan himself are such as have only his own name, either in full or abbreviated; and, instead of being followed by the F., have the letters VER., or SEG., or RICON. These letters refer to the cities where the coins were struck, as was the custom on the colonial coins of Rome. Those with VER. are, of course, attributed to Verlamio; and as they are chiefly found on the site of that ancient city, near St. Albans, the attribution appears sufficiently satisfactory. A small coin, with TASCIO. on one side and VER. on the other, is represented at No. 8, Plate 17. Those with SEGO. belong to Segontium, a city of the Segontiaci. A coin with TASCIO. and SEGO. is represented in Plate 1, No. 7. Those with RICON. belong to some city unknown, but certainly not Uriconium (Wrochester), which could not have been in the dominions of Tasciovan. Those coins which have the letters TASC. on one side, and the letters VER BOD* on the other, are also coins of Tasciovan, and probably struck at a city bearing some such name as Verbodunum, as ingeniously suggested by Mr. Evans.

These last were formerly attributed to Boadicea as the "female ruler," or "Vergobreti Boadicea." This attempt to strain the interpretation of these monetary inscriptions to suit the name of the favourite heroine, Boadicea, or the popular chief, Caractacus, threw discredit for a time on the attribu-

* Coins with VER., RICON., VERBOD., SEGO., *without* the name of Tasciovan, will be alluded to further on.

tion of the whole of this truly interesting and national series of coins. The coins of Tasciovan have often for types the remnant of the old biga device in the shape of a horse, with here and there a wheel of the chariot; but, as in No. 7, the horse had afterwards a rider, no doubt representing the chief himself. Sometimes he holds a singular kind of sceptre, at others a spear and shield; and round this singularly hybrid device are interspersed the letters T. A. S. C. On the other side of some of these coins the laurel wreath, the sole remnant of the head, has been formed into a cruciform ornament, which might be thought an original design, or a copy of the Greek device known as the Macedonian shield, but that every gradation from the perfect wreath to this systematized pattern might be shown on a series of these coins selected for that purpose. Other coins of Tasciovan, of more recent discovery, have a rudely executed bust of the chief on the obverse, much in the style of the heads on the cotemporary coinage of the Gaulish kings of Galatia. The bearded face of these coins, and the head bound with the regal fillet, is very remarkable. The reverse is also new, and appears to represent a hippocamp, or sea-horse, beneath which are the letters T. A. S. Other coins of similar character, with the same inscription, have two profiles, one over the other, one of them possibly representing either a queen, or some other person associated in the government. There are coins of Tasciovan of gold, silver, copper, and bronze. The gold and silver having their halves and quarters; the copper and bronze their halves, and some subdivisions which are not accurately made out. The large gold pieces, like the Philips upon which they are founded, may be roughly estimated as representing about the nominal value of a modern sovereign, the large silver being, approximately, equivalent to shillings. Tasciovan probably died about 20 B.C., when his states appear to have been divided among his sons.

Of Segonax, one of the cotemporaries of Tasciovan, no coins have as yet been discovered.

To Commius, however, another prince of that date, several coins have now been attributed with tolerable certainty, though the letters COM. were long considered to belong to a word signifying community, or commonwealth, founded on the Welsh or British word *cwomawd*, or *cymmawd*. Commius may either have been that Commius, the Attrebatian, ruling over the Attrebatii of Gaul, or a prince of the same name, ruling over the Attrebatii who had settled in Britain. Camden, in allusion to a coin with the inscription COMM., says,—“Both I and others are pleased with the conceit that it is a coin of Commius Attrebatensis, whom Caesar mentioneth;” for, in Camden’s time, the theory respecting the “community” had not arisen. The British coins bearing the name are, however, of British fabric, and struck either by a resident British prince, or by one holding a delegated power. On one of the coins of this prince, which has the name in full (running round the horse with a wheel beneath), it reads Commios,—the Greek termination showing that it belongs to a period prior to that in which the Roman influence became predominant, when the *us* was almost invariably adopted as the euphonic termination of barbaric names.

The coins of Addedomaros are of good weight, being 86 grains; and having the Greek termination to the name, like those of Commios, renders them also attributable to the earlier period. They have for types the rude biga horse, and generally the debased wreath on the other side. The horse and the debased wheels of the coin No. 2, Plate 17, closely resemble in treatment the same types on the coins of Addedomaros. There are small coins of red gold, with the name in full, weighing $21\frac{1}{2}$ grains, probably the quarter of the large coin. Addedomaros was probably a prince of the Iceni, who occupied the districts now known as Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, &c. The coins with his name are found most commonly near Cambridge. He was probably a descendant of the Ædd-maur, or Ædd the Great, of the old Welsh Chronicles, who is represented as one of the progenitors of a long line of ancient British kings; and he possibly bore the same name, Grecianized, according to the custom of his time, as Addedomaros.

Coins, apparently belonging to the same epoch as those of Commios and Addedomaros, and having TIHI. or TIGII., with other indistinct letters, are probably those of some prince, the abbreviated form of whose name has not as yet led to its identification. No. 6, Plate 1, is a coin of this description. It has been thought probable that the TIGII. or TIGV. may be a native spelling of Tigodumnus, a son of Cunobelin, to be alluded to hereafter.

The copper coin No. 4, in the same Plate, may probably be a coin of the same prince, as the TGH., though indistinct, is yet there. The head of Apollo on this coin, with the hair and wreath, shows a very peculiar, though less utterly barbarous, interpretation of the original than the gold coin last described.

No. 1, Plate 17, may either be a coin of a prince or of a city.* It is extremely rude, the inscription unintelligible, and the obverse of the coin entirely blank. Coins have been attributed to other princes of about this date, but the attribution appears at present uncertain, and I will therefore proceed to describe the money of the descendants of the dynasties of Tasciovan and Commios, the only lines that can be traced to the final subjection of the island to the power of Rome.

At the death of Tasciovan the north-eastern portion of his dominions appears to have devolved upon his son, Cunobelin, with Camulodunum (Colchester) as its capital. Epaticcus had part of Surrey and Hampshire, with Vindonum of the Segontiaci as his chief city (near Farnham). Of the states and coins of his other sons, little or nothing is known.

The coins of Cunobelin, the Cymbeline of Shakespeare, are more numerous than those of any other British prince, and in most cases of a different aspect, having Roman types, executed by Roman artists. The Romanizing propensity of Cunobelin, however, which he acquired during his education at the court of Augustus, is not always to be traced upon his coins, some of which bear the old types, and are of native workmanship. The descent of Cunobelin is satisfactorily traced in the Chronicle of Tysilio. We have first Teneuvan (doubtless the Tasciovan of the coinage), then Cynvelin, a spelling

* The supposed coins of British cities will be alluded to farther on.

very close to the Cymbeline of Shakespeare, who is, without doubt, the Cunobelin of the British coins, and then follow the sons of Cunobelin, the last of their line.

Of Cunobelin's coins of the Romanized types, the specimen No. 8, Plate 1, may be cited. The die was evidently executed by a Roman artist. It was evidently struck in the commencement of his reign, as may be at once inferred from the exceedingly youthful character of the portrait. On the reverse is Apollo playing upon the lyre. The name was probably in full on the die, though on the coin only the letters CVNOBELI are tolerably distinct. On the obverse should be TASC. F., or TASCIO. F.,—the two inscriptions reading consecutively *Cunobelinus Tasciovani filius*, as successfully interpreted by Mr. Birch. Other coins of the same class, of a later period, have the head of Cunobelin, more in the orthodox Roman style, very like that of Claudius on the silver *denarii*. Most of these have the name in full, CVNOBELINVS, the reverse being frequently a centaur, with the inscription TASCIOVANI. F. There are a great number of different types, however, one of the most celebrated being that of a figure in the act of striking money with a punch and die on a kind of anvil. I have observed that the greater number of types of the Roman character, and executed by Roman artists, are found, like the last described, on the copper coinage of this prince; while the old national types, and the ancient mode of workmanship, seem to be more confined to the gold. This system may have been adopted in partial imitation of the Roman custom, which esteemed the bronze coinage as national, and therefore under the control of the senate; while the gold and silver coinage, as more recent introductions, were considered the privilege of the emperor. Cunobelin, reasoning upon these data, may have come to the conclusion that, as gold was the more ancient British standard, and copper and bronze foreign introductions, the gold coinage should continue to have the ancient types, which long custom had rendered, to a certain extent, national, while the bronze, as being of exotic character and more recent date, might be subject to the taste of the sovereign, and therefore receive that Romanized character which his Italian education had led him to appreciate and admire.

The Gaulish symbol of the boar, either sitting or walking, is found on many coins both of Tasciovan and Cunobelin, as well as other symbols which are yet waiting for their elucidation. Of Cunobelin's gold coin of ancient type, No. 7, Plate 17, may serve as an example. On the obverse is a device which has been described as an emblematic ear of barley, but which may, with equal chance of a correct interpretation, be considered a transition from the remnant of the old laurel wreath, to which the artist may have sought to give a little more meaning by making it resemble an ear of barley. Some have thought, however, that as Pagan and Druidic symbols were eventually used on the Gaulish staters, in addition to the old types, so in Britain a similar course may have been pursued; and the ear of barley has therefore been assumed to have reference to Ceredwen, the British Ceres; or it may be a symbol of the great staple of the fine corn country, of which the capital of Cunobelin was the centre. Beneath the horse are the letters CVNO., and

on the reverse CAMV., the first letters of CAMVLODVNM. The palace of Cunobelin at Camulodunum does not appear to have been built within the city, which occupied the exact site of the present Colchester, but to have been at some little distance, at Lexden Heath, where coins and other British remains are often found. The name of Lexden, it has been suggested, is possibly a corruption of Llys-dun, which may be literally translated as a palace-fortress. The coin No. 6, Plate 17, is of very similar character, but without the name of Cunobelin, and was possibly struck by the civic authorities of Camulodunum, as other coins of the same class may have been.

The word SOLIDO on a small coin of Cunobelin, No. 9, Plate 17, has not been satisfactorily explained. It is true that, in the decadence of the Roman empire, solidus was a monetary term, and was applied to the principal gold coin which had formerly been called the aureus. But then this name was not applied to any Roman coin till nearly three centuries after the coins of Cunobelin were issued; and then, the "solido" coin of Cunobelin is copper, and not gold. Some have endeavoured to prove that "solido" was the name of a moneyer, but quite unsuccessfully, as no example of a moneyer's name occurs on British coins of that epoch. Cunobelin's long reign lasted from about B.C. 13 to A.D. 41, an extent of more than fifty years, which fully accounts for the great number of his coins which have found their way into our collections.

To Epaticcus, the brother of Cunobelin, no coins were till quite recently attributed. Several had formerly come to light, but through a perverse determination to attribute them to the popular hero Caractacus, the son of Cunobelin, they became at last involved in what seemed impenetrable obscurity. It is easy to conceive that the word might be read as ERATICCVS, the P looking like R in imperfect specimens; and also that, in other specimens, the E might be read as C, giving Craticcus; or it might be imagined that an obliterated C originally preceded the E, which would give Ceraticcus, which is more near to the commonly accepted form of the name than the Caradoc of Ossian. But, whatever may have led former antiquaries astray, a gold coin with the same types has been recently found at Farley Heath, near Farnham, in Surrey, with both types and inscription in such beautiful preservation as to remove any farther ground of doubt as to its attribution. This coin was found in 1857 with several others, most of which unfortunately went to the crucible before the saving hand of some enthusiastic archaeologist could save them. It has on the obverse a horseman holding a shield and a javelin, with the inscription EPATIC. beneath, and in front of the horse; and probably CVS above. On the reverse is an ear of wheat or barley, with the same TASCII. F. as on the coins of Cunobelin. Of the other sons of Tasciovan we have no monetary record.

Three sons of Commios, the cotemporary of Cunobelin, have each left monuments in the shape of coins bearing their names—Epillus, Tincomius, and Vericus. The coins of a regulus or chief, bearing the name of Epillus, which are generally found in the Isle of Thanet, and most frequently near to Margate, are now known to be those of a son of Commios, as the

modern Andover, and with this name I close a list which might have been greatly extended.

I cannot, however, close this attempt to describe, in a very brief narrative, the present state of our knowledge of the coinage of the Britanno-Celtic tribes, princes, and cities, without referring to a rude class of coins belonging to the same epoch, which have hitherto met with but little attention from our numismatists. I allude to the rugged coins formed of a mixture of zinc and tin, which have evidently been cast in wooden moulds, their surface showing the grain of the wood so distinctly, as almost to enable a careful observer to determine its kind. The coins No. 1 and 2, Plate 1, are of this class. The types of No. 1 are evidently those of the beautiful Macedonian Philips in their lowest state of degradation; the profile of the noble head of Apollo being reduced to a few rude, though not altogether uncharacteristic, raised lines; while the reverse has the main outline of the horse of the biga, every portion of the chariot having disappeared. The other coin, No. 2, has different types: on one side the Gaulish symbol of the boar is plain enough, but on the other the rude full face offers no clue to an intelligible solution of its meaning. Both these coins were found in making the excavation for the ornamental water in St. James's Park, and similar coins have been found in other localities. In the Isle of Thanet several have been recently discovered, which have been minutely described by Mr. Fairholt. It is supposed that they were struck in private mints for small change, just as in later times tavern-keepers and other traders struck the leaden and copper tokens which became so numerous about the time of Elizabeth; and which finally, by their abuse, led to the national copper coinage of the reign of Charles II.

SUMMARY OF DATES CONNECTED WITH THE EARLY BRITISH COINAGE.

From an uncertain period up to about 600 B.C., primitive or direct barter was probably the only method of effecting exchanges, with the addition, perhaps, of rolls of cloth of ascertained length, and pieces of salt of a certain weight, which had a generally accepted value in reference to other produce.

From about 600 B.C. to 300 B.C., the Phœnicians traded to Britain, by whose means, if not before, the Britanno-Celtic tribes became acquainted with ring-money, as it circulated at that time in the north of Africa, and the west of Asia. It is, however, most probable that the Phœnicians gave but little of that valuable and comparatively convenient medium of exchange in return for the products of Britain, but managed to effect a profitable barter by means of small trinkets and personal ornaments, attractive to a semi-barbarous people like the Britons, but of little intrinsic value.

About 300 B.C. the Greeks of Massilia first traded to Britain, at which time, possibly, the Britons first saw real coins of the "medallic" form, especially the Macedonian Philips, with which, doubtless, the Massilians came pretty well furnished, though in all probability they parted with them very charily.

About 200 B.C., in consequence of the second Punic war, the trade of the

Phœnicians ceased, and soon after that of the Greeks, traffic by way of the Mediterranean becoming insecure. From about 150 to about 75 B.C., Gaulish imitations of the Macedonian staters circulated in Britain. These staters had been imitated in the southern provinces of Gaul as early as 335 B.C., very soon after their first issue in Macedonia and Thrace; and these fabrications spread rapidly northwards and westwards (as they were found the most reliable and convenient medium of exchange then known); and soon after 200 B.C., when the trade for British tin was carried on through France, these pieces were introduced into the traffic; and copied by the native tribes in Britain, without any inscription.

About 35 B.C. British tribes and princes began to cause their names to be placed upon these imitative staters,—a system continued by their successors for more than a century; and coins of a similar character issued by the civic authority of cities, were also largely issued.

About 55 B.C. the first invasion of Cæsar brought the native princes of Britain, for the first time, under direct Roman influence; when Latinized terminations began to be used in the proper names placed on the coinage, instead of the Greek ones which before prevailed.

From about 55 B.C. to 13 B.C. may be considered the period of these British princes, such as Tasciovan, Commios, and others, who first placed their names on the coinage.

From about 13 B.C. to 41 A.D. the partially Romanized coinage of Cunobelin circulated largely in Britain.

From 41 A.D. to 43 A.D. a reaction against Roman influence took place; Greek terminations were again adopted in the names inscribed on the coinage, and the Roman method of coining, and Roman types, were abandoned.

In 43 A.D., in the reign of the Emperor Claudius, Britain was invaded by a Roman army, under Aulus Plautius, for the purpose of its total subjection. But till 44 A.D. coins of the sons of Cunobelin, and those of many cities in their territories, continued to be struck; after which, the subjugation of the western and south-western portions of Britain being complete, no more native money was struck.

From 43 to 71 A.D. the more northern tribes, especially the Brigantes, continued to strike native money of the old types and form, but of reduced weight and of the rudest workmanship. In the last named year the territory of the Brigantes was invaded by the Romans, under Petilius Cerealis, after which many of the Brigantine mints were doubtless stopped.

In 79 A.D. Agricola finally subdued the Brigantes, the last of the British tribes remaining independent; and after that period no more Britanno-Celtic money was struck, and the Roman coinage was introduced throughout the whole island.

COINS OF THE ROMANS RELATING TO BRITAIN.*

The year 43 A.D. was marked by the almost complete subjugation of the southern parts of the island by the Emperor Claudius, and from that time the coinage of Rome became the current money of Britain, coins of nearly all the emperors being found in considerable numbers in all parts of the country. But the subject of the general coinage of Rome being beyond the scope of this work, it is only such Roman coins as bear especial relation to this country, either by their inscriptions or devices, or such as may be supposed to have been actually minted in Britain, that I shall attempt to describe; though to enter rather more largely upon the subject of Roman coins would be very attractive, from the Roman custom of commemorating their greatest achievements upon their common current money. "If," says Gibbon, "history was lost to us, medals and their inscriptions would alone record the travels of Hadrian." From this custom many events connected with Britain are recorded on the coins of Rome, which thus become most interesting relics connected with our early history.

It is not supposed by archæologists that Roman mints were established in any part of the island before the time of Constantine, though such existed in many of the principal cities of Gaul at an earlier period, from which most likely the money circulated in Britain was derived. The independent usurpers, Carausius and Allectus, however, during their complete separation from the Continent, no doubt struck their money in Britain.

It would be impossible, in the compass of this work, to describe all the Roman coins that bear reference to Britain; but a selection of examples, arranged in chronological order, may be made to afford a very complete general idea of the subject.

The first allusion to Britain on Roman coins occurs in the well-known instances of those of Claudius. No. 10, Plate I, was struck in commemoration of the erection of the triumphal arch decreed to him by the Senate on the conquest of Britain, and minted, it is supposed, in A.D. 46, three years after that event. It has the laureated head of the Emperor, with the inscription (abbreviated) TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AUG. P. M. TR. P. VIII. IMP. XVI.—intended to read, "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia Potestate nonum, Imperator decimum sextum;" which may be translated, "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus, holding the office of Pontifex Maximus (or High Pontiff), possessing the Tribunitian Power for the ninth time, and Imperator for the sixteenth time." To the tyro in numismatic inscriptions, it may be here explained, that the holding of the tribunitian power referred to, was the periodical investiture of the emperor with the nominal attributes of the power of the ancient tribunes of the people, then become an empty title. "Imperator for the sixteenth time" refers to the well-known historical fact, that the first emperors, or imperators, were not

* In this short chapter on the coins of the Romans in England, I am greatly indebted to the labours of Mr. T. D. Hardy, and to the beautiful Work of Mr. Akerman, which should be in the hands of every one interested in the subject.

declared imperators for life, but only for a certain period, after the manner of the ancient dictatorships, such declarations being, however, servilely renewed by the Senate at the expiration of each period. These renewals are thus recorded on the coinage till the title became recognized as hereditary. The reverse of this coin is a triumphal arch surmounted by an equestrian statue between trophies, no doubt a representation of the one decreed by the Senate; it has the inscription *DE. BRITANNI*, in allusion to the recent British victories.

No. 14, Plate 1, is a coin struck in honour of the young Britannicus, the son of Claudius, who received his surname when an infant, at the time it was conferred upon his father, on the subjugation of Britain. This coin was not struck in a Roman mint, but by a tributary sovereign in the East. The kings of the Bosphorus had, since the reign of Augustus, caused the portrait of the reigning Roman emperor to be placed on one side of their coins in token of subservience to the power of Rome. But Cotys, not deeming this amount of adulation sufficient, placed the head of a Roman emperor on each side of his gold coins, reserving to himself little more than the mere initials of his name, very inconspicuously placed. In this way the head of Claudius, his first protector, occupies the obverse; and those of the emperors, his successors, down to Vitellius, the reverses of his gold coinage. On his copper coinage, however, he appears to have occasionally retained the privilege of placing his own portrait—as in the present example, where it occupies the obverse, with the inscription *BA.KO*, in form of a monogram, then common on Asiatic coins, for *βασιλεωξ Κοττος*—"Of King Cotys," implying "Money of King Cotys;" and on the reverse is the portrait of Britannicus, with the inscription in Greek, like that of the king, *KAIΛΑΡΟΕ ΒΡΕΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΛ*, "Cæsar Britannicus," the square *sigma* being used instead of *Σ*, as was common in nearly all Greek inscriptions of the period.

No further allusions to Britain occur on the Roman coinage till the reign of Hadrian, during whose visits to the vast and distant provinces of the Roman empire Britain was not forgotten—to which several inscriptions on his coins bear witness. Mr. Akerman has cited four instances in which types referring to Britain occur on the "first brass,"—that is, the "sestertius," the largest copper coin of the empire. The most remarkable is the one evidently struck to commemorate his arrival, being similar to those issued on his entry into Cilicia, Gaul, and other provinces. It has on the obverse the bust of the emperor, with the inscription *HADRIANVS. AVG. COS. II. P.P.*, for *HADRIANVS. AVGVSTVS. CONSVL. ITERVM. PATER. PATRIÆ*, which may be translated, "Hadrianus Augustus, Consul for the second time, Father of the Country." On the reverse is represented a propitiatory sacrifice, with the inscription *ADVENTVL. AVG. BRITANNIÆ* (for the arrival of Augustus in Britain), and underneath *S.C.* for *SENATVS. CONSVLTO*, by decree of the Senate. (See No. 11, Plate 1.)

No. 12, Plate 17, has been introduced, as showing the figure which has since formed the model for the Britannia on our modern halfpence. The obverse of this coin, which I have not engraved, has merely the laureated head of the emperor, accompanied by the titles in the usual form; but the

reverse, shown in the engraving, has a female figure seated on a rock, and holding a spear. Some consider this figure a personification of Britain—in short, Britannia; while others suppose it to be Roma, though without the usual attributes, symbolizing the act of taking full possession of the country. But the figure, evidently allegorical in character, would seem rather, as armed and in a position of repose, to imply peace—after a successful campaign, such as that undertaken at this time against the Caledonians; the inscription “Britannia” referring to the scene of action, rather than to the figure. It was, however, long considered to be a figure of Britannia, and in the semi-classical taste which prevailed in the time of Charles II. it served as the model for the figure of Britannia, then placed upon the first copper coinage of England; the beautiful Frances Stuart, however, as it is said, being the model for the details in the die engraved by Rawlins, especially the leg, which was undraped in the design then adopted.

No. 15, Plate 17, is the reverse of a copper coin (first brass) of Antoninus Pius; it bears for type a Victory descending upon a globe—in reference, perhaps, to the peace established after his final victory over the north British tribe, the Brigantes. The inscription is simply IMPERATOR II, and S.C. for “Senatus Consulto.” Across the field is BRITAN, an abbreviation of “Britannia,” which at once establishes the province to which the type of the Victory refers.

Nos. 13 and 14, Plate 17, are the obverse and reverse of another coin of this emperor. The obverse is simply a portrait with a radiated crown, and the usual titles; the reverse has for type a female figure in an attitude of dejection—perhaps representing a province in which rebellion has been recently subdued by force of arms, as a military standard and shield are placed in front of the figure. The inscription is BRITANNIA. COS. IIII. The last portion of the inscription records the fourth honorary consulship of the emperor.

No. 12, Plate 1, is a noble medallion of Commodus. The inscription stands M. COMMODVS. ANTONINVS. AVG. PIVS. BRIT., and reads, “Marcus Commodus Antoninus Augustus Britannicus.” Commodus, as we learn from Herodian, had always been ambitious of the surname of Britannicus; and after some victories over the Caledonians by the Roman commander in Britain, he assumed that name on his coins, though he never personally visited the island. On the reverse of this coin the inscription stands P. M. TR. P. X. IMP VII; and on the shield of the large figure of Victory is inscribed VICT. BRIT. for VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE. This fine medallion is in the national collection of France. Another medallion of this emperor, struck on the same occasion, and equally fine, is in the British Museum, and will be found represented in Plate 17, No. 16.

The next allusion to Britain occurs on the coins of the war-loving Septimus Severus, who died at York in A.D. 211, urging his generals (the ruling passion strong in death) to prosecute the war then raging with the Caledonians, till they were *exterminated*. No. 13, Plate 1, is a large brass coin of this emperor, with a tolerably well executed head, which, though the last

great era of Roman art, that of the Antonines, was fast waning, still exhibits considerable grandeur of style. The reverse has two winged Victories, attaching a circular buckler to a palm, at the foot of which are captives. Some have supposed the two figures to indicate two different victories, others that of a victory of Severus shared by his son. The inscription of the obverse of this coin stands, SEPT. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG., and reads "Septimus Severus Pius Augustus;" the reverse has "Victoria Brittanicæ."

The coins of Caracalla are also good specimens of art, and especially interesting as exhibiting in some of their types the narrow shields, supposed to represent the "*scutus Angustus*" of the Britons, mentioned by Herodian.

No. 17, Plate 17, is a large coin of Caracalla. The inscription stands, M. AVREL. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG., which reads, "Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus;" for the name of Caracalla never appears upon his coins, and that of Aurelius, which he assumed, has led to some mistakes by amateurs in the attribution of coins, though its appearance on the coins of Caracalla is well known to numismatists. The portrait, however, may always serve as a sufficient indication of the coins of Caracalla, as it is well executed and peculiarly marked in feature. The type of the reverse is two Victories erecting a trophy, and the inscription VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE. The gold and silver coins of this emperor also bear inscriptions referring to Britain.

No. 18, Plate 17, is a silver coin of Geta, the brother of Caracalla, and for some time associated with him in the government of the empire. The inscription of the obverse is, P. SEPT. GETA. PIUS. AVG. BRIT., which reads, "Publius Septimus Geta Pius Augustus Britannicus;" the last name having been awarded to him by the Senate in consequence of his share in the victories of his father over the north Britons. There are coins of Geta, with the inscription "Victoriae Augustorum"—"The victories of the Augustuses," alluding to the period when Caracalla and Geta were associated in the government of the empire.

Coins were struck during the joint power of these princes, bearing the portraits of both. Some of these are known, from which that of Geta has been erased in the die; apparently an act of unprincipled adulation, addressed to the tyrant Caracalla, by the Asiatic city where these coins were struck, after his fratricidal murder of Geta.

The coins of the usurper Postumus are frequently found in England, as are the smaller brass coins of Victorinus, and also those of Marius. Fabricius, holding supreme power in Spain and Gaul for some years, issued a large number of coins bearing his name and effigy, which are frequently found in England, though there is no allusion to the name of Britain upon them, or indeed on any of the coins noticed in this paragraph.

The reign of Dioclesian is a remarkable epoch in Roman history, on account of the changes that took place in the general administration of the empire; the innovations in matters connected with the coinage being very

considerable. Among other monetary reforms, provincial mints were established about this time for supplying the distant provinces with coin, which, throughout the western portion of the empire, had hitherto been exclusively supplied by the mints of Rome, in which, in the reign of Aurelius, more than 20,000 workmen were employed. The new mints that were organized about the reign of Dioclesian, if not by him, as is supposed, were established as far north as Treves, where a vast number of coins were issued in subsequent reigns. The coins of Treves have P. TR. in the exergue, for "*Pecunia Treveris*"—"Money of Treves." There were also several mints established in Gaul, besides the principal one, which was at Lugdunum (Lyons); and even in Britain, where money was thenceforward coined with the letters P. LON. or M. L., for "*Pecunia Londinensis*," or "*Moneta Londinensis*," and some with LON., which must be "*Londinium*." Coins with this inscription, of the second brass of Dioclesian, have been engraved by Banduri, which some, however, assign to the Lyons mint—interpreting the three letters as "*Lugdunum Officina Nono*"—"Lugdunum, of the Ninth Office;" but this is a strained interpretation. A coin of Maximin has the exergual letters ML. The coins of Constantius Chlorus, however, who died at York, have no letters of this description. Of far greater interest than any of these are the undoubtedly *British* coins of the usurper Carausius, a bold soldier, who in the reign of Maximianus, taking advantage of holding the command of the Roman fleet at Boulogne, escaped with it to Britain, where he succeeded in ingratiating himself with the people, and grasping the sovereignty of the island. He successfully defied the whole Roman power from A.D. 287 to 293, when he was assassinated by his minister, Allectus, who succeeded to the supreme authority in Britain, which he held for three years. He was finally subdued by the præfect Asclepiodotus, who, arriving with a considerable force which had been three years in preparation, encountered this second usurper, and defeated his army with great slaughter; Allectus himself perishing in the conflict. Of the coins of Carausius we have many interesting types, of which Mr. Akerman has given a great variety in his interesting and instructive work; among others, one from the fine collection of Mr. Thomas, having the bust of the emperor with the paludamentum, and the inscription (abbreviated) "*Imperator Carausius Pius Felix Augustus*;" on the reverse, the emperor, bareheaded, joins hands with a female who holds a trident; below are the letters RS. R., the meaning of which is uncertain, but the signification of the figures is more clear—the female is undoubtedly the genius of Britain amicably receiving the new emperor, who flatters her (for the first time, probably) as "*queen of the sea*," by placing a trident in her hand. Carausius seems also to have been the first to perceive the importance of the position of these islands, near to the centre of Europe, and yet separated and fortified by the barrier of the sea; to express which, his coins have sometimes a ship on the reverse. Others have "*Moneta (Juno)*," with her attributes; and a rare gold coin, purchased by the late Mr. Cracherode for £150, and bequeathed by him to the British Museum, has under the figure of Jupiter the letters M. L., supposed to imply "*Moneta Londinensis*."

If of the London mint, it is highly creditable to the artists employed there by Carausius, as the head is most effectively executed in very high relief, though with some of the stiffness of the epoch.

No. 15, Plate 1, is a copper coin of Carausius, the correct spelling of whose name was first accurately ascertained from this series of coins.

No. 16, Plate 1, is a coin of his treacherous successor, Allectus. He also seems to have been fully aware of the importance of the insular position of Britain, and of its natural arm—shipping; for he, too, placed a ship on the reverse of many of his coins. It has been supposed, however, that the ship was merely the favourite Roman emblem of the state; but the former theory offers more interest, though it is perhaps scarcely tenable; for a ship forms also the arms of the city of Paris, and in that instance certainly no allusion to a fleet, or the importance of shipping to the city, could be implied. But these are mere hypotheses, the “ship” being, perhaps, in both cases simply the Roman emblem of the state. There are coins of Allectus of gold and silver, and of brass of the small size; the busts of the emperor being, like those of Carausius,* sharply executed, and having so marked a character that they may doubtless be considered portraits. The specimen No. 16 has the bust of the emperor, with IMP. C. ALLECTVS PIV. FEL. AVG., which reads, “Imperator C. Allectus Pius felicitas Augustus” (or Augusti). Several varieties of the coins of Allectus exist, of which Mr. Hardy has given examples and accurate descriptions.

No. 17, Plate 1, is a small brass coin of Constantine the Great, apparently struck in England, having P. LON. in the exergue. On the obverse the emperor is represented wearing a helmet, accompanied by the legend CONSTANTINVS AVG., for “Constantinus Augustus”—on the reverse two captives are represented, and between them a Roman labarum or banner inscribed VOT. XX.; in the exergue is the P. LON. above referred to.

No. 19, Plate 17, is another brass coin of Constantine. The head on the obverse is simply laureated, with the same legends as the coin just described. The reverse has a Victory trampling on a captive, and the legend SARMATIA DEVICTA; with P. LON. in the exergue, for “Pecunia Londinensis.” Neither this type, nor that of the previously described coin, refer to events occurring in Britain; indeed, the Romans appear to have ceased to commemorate British victories, or other events, after the time of Caracalla. The legend “Sarmatia Devicta” refers to a victory over the Sauromatæ, on the confines of the Palus Mæotis.

The coins of Constantine and those members of his family, which have P. LON. in the exergue, may, it is thought, be confidently referred to a Roman mint in London, as the letters P. LON. are of precisely similar character to those indicating the coinage of money in the continental mints at the same period, as P. TR. for “Pecunia Treveris”—“Money of Treves.” The money of the mint of Lyons (Lugdunum), the only Roman mint beginning with the same letter as London, is always marked with the letter L. only, and large

* Mr. Akerman enumerates of the coins of Carausius five varieties in gold, fifty in silver, and upwards of two hundred and fifty in small brass. Mr. Hardy has added many more.

quantities so marked are continually found in its neighbourhood, while those marked P. LON. are very rarely found out of England, which appears to substantiate the correctness of the attribution of the coins of Constantine marked M. LON., for "Moneta Londinensis," and P. LON., for "Pecunia Londinensis," to London. Some antiquaries, indeed, consider that London was not the only Roman mint in England about this period, and refer the coins of Carausius, marked c. in the exergue, to Clausentum, a Romanized city or station near Southampton, on the site of which coins so stamped are frequently found.

Coins of Fausta, daughter of Maximianus, and wife of Constantine, are found with the London mint marks; one also is known of her daughter Helena, the wife of Julian,

No. 20, Plate 17, is a coin of Crispus, the eldest son of Constantine, struck after his appointment as Cæsar, or sub-emperor. The inscription round the portrait on his English coins, stands CRISPVS. NOBIL. C., for "Crispus Nobilissimus Cæsar;" sometimes preceded by FL. IVL., for "Flavius Julius." The reverse of the coin I have engraved has an altar, with the inscription VOTIS. XX., and the legend BEAT. TRANQUILITAS, for "Beata Tranquilitas," in allusion to the general peace which prevailed during a portion of the reign of Constantine the Great. In the exergue it has the usual P. LON. of the coins minted in Britain.

Constantinus II. The coins of this Prince struck in Britain resemble in general character those of Constantine and Crispus.

The same may be said of the British coins of his brother Constantius, which, however, are extremely rare, and are the last Roman coins bearing any reference to this island.

The Roman coinage, however, continued, doubtless, to circulate in Britain till the final abandonment of the country, about A.D. 414, and for some time afterwards; and, indeed, its complete disappearance at last, leaving no vestige of its relative values, names, or inscriptions, and but very little even of some of its devices, appears inexplicable, after having formed the sole currency of the island during certainly four, and perhaps nearly five centuries; for the Saxon *skeatta*, and afterwards the silver pennies that succeeded them, and formed the sole coin of the island for many centuries, offer scarcely any reminiscence—in form, value, or denomination—of the coinage of Rome, which was still in many respects fine, even in its decadence.

Such is a brief review of the connection of the Roman coinage with Britain, for the materials of which I am chiefly indebted to the extensive series engraved in the *Monumenta Historia Britannica*, of Petrie and Sharpe, under the direction and editorship of Thomas Duffus Hardy, Esq., and also to the excellent treatise of Mr. Akerman. In the former work the examples of different types of the usurpers Carausius and Allectus extend to between three and four hundred.

No. 10, Plate 17, has been introduced for the purpose of showing the earliest type, and the usual appearance and size of the principal Roman silver coin, the *denarius*; and No. 11, for the purpose of exhibiting the size of the

aureus, or principal gold coin, afterwards termed the *solidus*, which coins were the remote parents of the silver penny of the Saxon period, and the gold pieces of Offa, and the gold penny of Henry III. No. 17 shows equally the usual size of the first brass—No. 13, the second—and No. 18, the third. These specimens will be hereafter referred to again in connection with the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coinages, which followed that of Rome in Britain.

CHAPTER III.

COINS OF THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

THE SKEATTÆ AND THE STYCÆ, WHICH WERE PROBABLY THE FIRST COINS STRUCK IN BRITAIN BY INDEPENDENT PRINCES AFTER THE DEPARTURE OF THE ROMANS.

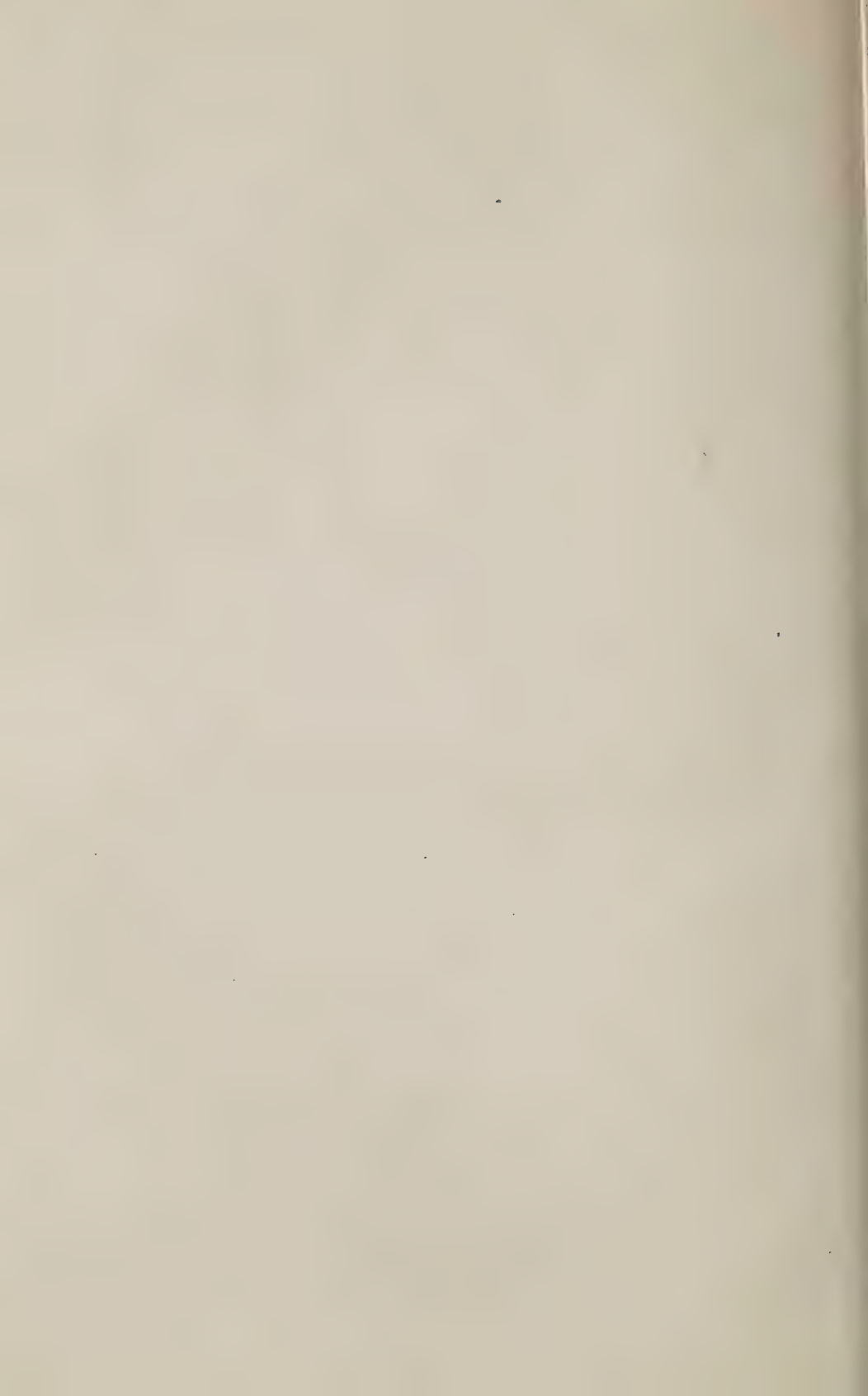
THE departure of the Roman legions about A.D. 414 left the inhabitants of Southern Britain an easy prey to the first bold invaders. But before the permanent Saxon occupation of the island, it may be presumed that some sort of coinage, in imitation of the Roman, to which the people had been long accustomed, must have been adopted; and traces of it, in fact, exist in those rude pieces of the Roman style, which are now becoming very scarce, as they have hitherto been rejected by cabinets as merely bad specimens or forgeries of Roman coin.

The earliest native money, probably Saxon, of which we have any examples is of a very different character, bearing scarcely the slightest resemblance to the Roman, with the exception of one or two devices, copied perhaps from some of the coins of Constantine. It appears, therefore, that it must have been brought into this country by the Saxons, along with a new set of weights, values, and denominations.

The coins alluded to are, first, the Skeattæ (Latinized *scata*), a term which Ruding derives from a Saxon word, meaning a portion, and supposes that these coins were a fraction of some merely nominal sum by which large amounts were calculated; and, secondly, the copper Stycæ. Both the Stycæ and the Skeattæ appear to have originated in the north; they remained in circulation in Northumbria long after the large Saxon penny had become the only coin in general circulation in the south. The Skeattæ were, however, still considered as money generally current in the reign of Æthelstane, in whose monetary laws it is stated that 30,000 Skeattæ are equal to £120, which would make them in value about one twenty-fifth part less than a penny.

The skeatta is probably, in form and value, an imitation of the Byzantine quinarius, which found its way, in gradually debasing forms, from Constantinople, through the east and north of Germany. It is thought by some that the Saxons also derived their weight, called Colonia (Cologne), from the Greeks of the Lower Empire. It was only used by them for their money, and afterwards in England called Tower weight, in consequence of the principal mint being in the Tower. Troy weight, so called from being first used at Troyes in France, is three-quarters of an ounce more than Tower weight; so that in coining, the prince, or other privileged person,





gained considerably upon every pound weight of metal coined, which at last induced frequent re-coinages; to obtain the discontinuance of which custom the people agreed to a tax called "moneyage." These impositions were distinct from those which in Norman times were called seignorage, or the profit of the sovereign.

As the skeattæ vary from twelve to twenty grains in weight, it is difficult to ascertain their current value. My examples, and indeed most of the skeattæ, are of very debased art, and the production, probably, of several distinct invading colonies in different parts of the island, some, perhaps, being of foreign importation. The art displayed on them became gradually worse after their first appearance; and one case may be mentioned, in which a head, tolerably distinct at first, became gradually so barbarous as to be mistaken by some for a rude imitation of the Roman type of the wolf and twins. The whole connecting series, however, may be seen in the British Museum, showing the well-connected links of decadence. Ruding and Clark have stated that the art exhibited on coins up to the eighth century was not better on the Continent than in England; but I could point out several examples of far superior art of a Roman, or rather Romano-Gallic, character in France during that period. Many skeattæ are without inscription at all, others unintelligible—few of the later specimens having Christian emblems. The following are a few of the most striking types, which will serve to give a general idea of the whole:—No. 1, Plate 2, has a profile surrounded by a pretty interlaced band; the reverse, the Christian emblems of the dove and cross. No. 2 has curious but unintelligible ornamental devices on both sides. No. 3 has an animal similar to those introduced in the interlacing of Anglo-Saxon illuminations in MSS. of the seventh and eighth centuries, and on the reverse a figure holding in each hand a cross—a device common on late Roman coins.* No. 4 has been supposed to represent, more rudely, the last-named subject, whilst it is but the debased head above alluded to; which, by a still more unskilful re-copy, has been transformed, in No. 5, into a bird. No. 6 has a singular bird type, which has not been explained, and on the reverse a rude copy of the wolf and twins found on coins of Constantine. No. 7 is an interesting specimen, as bearing a name, erroneously supposed to be that of Ethelbert I., King of Kent, which would place it in the sixth century. On one side is the debased form of the head before alluded to, which but few would be able to distinguish without comparing the whole series. Specimens of skeattæ are scarce, yet many exist in good collections.

The attribution of the skeattæ to Northumbria is quite recent. They had not been definitely assigned to a particular district till after the appearance of the interesting communication signed E. W. L. was lately read before a meeting of the Numismatic Society. The close resemblance, however, which the skeattæ bear to the copper stycæ of Northumbria might, it would seem, have suggested such an attribution at an earlier period; but the finding of a great number of these coins in the Isle of Thanet naturally interfered with

* Figures in this style are also found on early Danish coins.

such a theory. This, however, is to be accounted for by the fact, that the Danes had a settlement in Thanet, to which they brought their plunder after their excursions to Northumbria, which were frequent; and the finding of no stycas among the skeattæ is easily accounted for, by supposing that they would not load their vessels with the comparatively valueless copper, so long as they could secure a full freight of silver. The names of Aldfrith and Alehred, both names of Northumbrian kings, occur on the skeattæ; and the old supposition that these names were those of moneyers, appears highly improbable, as the custom of placing the moneyer's name on one side of the coin had not at that early period become customary, though it prevailed in the Saxon mints of the south very soon afterwards. The names of Ethelbert and Egbeorht, which are found on skeattæ, and were formerly assigned to the Kentish kings of those names, are now thought, with more probability, to belong to a late epoch of the skeatta circulation; and though without Christian emblems, they have been assigned to an epoch after the introduction of Christianity, and thought to belong to Northumbrian bishops, whose privilege of coining money will be referred to hereafter. There were, in fact, two Northumbrian bishops of these names, who occupied sees between 734 and 780 A.D.

The early copper stycas were very similar in size and in types to the skeattæ, as will be seen by reference to Nos. 20, 21, and 28, Plate 2, which, as belonging to a later period, and bearing the name of kings, will be described among the coinage of the Heptarchy, as the money of the kings of Northumbria.

The stycæ and the skeattæ might be divided into two distinct classes; those of the earlier period, as being without inscriptions, and those with the names of prelates or princes, which belong to the later epoch.

THE SILVER PENNIES OF THE HEPTARCHY.

The description of the authentic coins of the Heptarchy—that is, such as can at once be assigned to the respective princes whose effigies and superscriptions they bear—brings us at once upon the commencement of that long and interesting series of silver pennies which, after the skeattæ and stycæ disappeared, formed the only money of the country (with occasional halfpennies) up to the reign of Edward III. The origin of these pennies may be most conveniently referred to in this place.

On the origin of the word “penny,” Ruding says, “It is variously spelt, as peneg, penine, &c., and some derive it from the Latin word *pendo*, to weigh; while others consider that *pecunia** is the parent word. On the regular establishment of the silver pennies as the sole currency, it was

* *Pecunia*, as is well known, meant cattle as well as money (see Introduction, p. 20), and was frequently used in denoting any kind of possessions; the English word cattle has the same double meaning, being cattle, or chattels. Mandeville, the old English traveller, in describing the Holy Land, says, speaking of the redemption,—“For more precyous *catelle* ne gretter ransom ne might be put for us than his blessed body,” &c. This early traveller mentions incidentally that even in his day the Chinese had positively a paper currency—a singular proof of the great antiquity of their commercial civilization.

intended that a pound (Tower weight) should make 240 pennies, giving 24 grains each; but this weight was gradually decreased by the successive princes, 22½ grains being afterwards deemed full weight, and 20 being about the average weight in the reign of Henry III. Their standard purity seems to have been 11 oz. 2 dwts., fine, and 11 dwts. alloy. The name of the moneyer, or mint-master, of the district in which the piece was coined, was first placed upon the coins about 700 A.D., and generally occupied the reverse, accompanied by some rude ornament; and, at a later period, by the name of the place of mintage also.

COINS OF THE KINGS OF KENT.

The long series of coins of the princes of the Heptarchy are the most interesting monuments of that period remaining to us. Of those of the kings of Kent, from the accession of Ethelbert, A.D. 568, to the end of the reign of Baldred, 823, I have engraved five specimens. The silver skeatta with the name of Ethelbert, previously referred to, was formerly assigned to the first Kentish king, but the attribution is now disallowed. It however belongs to that period, as, having no symbol of the cross in any part, it may be presumed to have been coined before A.D. 606—the period of the introduction of Christianity. It has, as before described, on one side ETHILID, surrounded with three circles of beading, and on the other the debased head, formerly supposed to be a “bird” or “the wolf,” &c., &c. Only three or four of these rare coins are known; the British Museum having one. No other reputed Kentish coin occurs till after A.D. 725, when a coin attributed to Ethelbert II., and supposed to be a penny, occurs (No. 8, Plate 2); and which, if so, is the first Anglo-Saxon silver penny yet known. The inscription is ETHILBERHT II. The size of this coin is between that of a skeatta and that of a silver penny. It is in fair preservation, but its genuineness has been doubted. The next of the series are the silver pennies of Eadbert, A.D. 794 to 798. These are the earliest known Kentish pennies, the authority of which is well established. The Eadbert pennies, No. 9, Plate 2, have the king's name, and the title REX in three lines, and on the reverse the moneyer's name, with an ornament. Their authenticity is undoubted. The name of the moneyer appears to be Ianberht. It is followed by some characters, or a monogram, which may perhaps be read as Fecit.

Nos. 10 and 11, Plate 2, are coins of Cuthred (A.D. 794 to 798); No. 10 has the king's bust, and *Cudred Rex Cant.*, for *Cantixæ*; reverse, a cross, with a small wedge in each angle, and the moneyer's name. All the coins of Cuthred are pennies, and there are four types of them, all rare, except those with the head, the style of which has evidently been suggested by debased Roman coins.

No. 12, Plate 2, is a coin of Baldred. This last king of Kent was subdued by Egbert, A.D. 823. It has the king's bust rudely done, and *Baldred Rex. Cant.*: the reverse, in the centre, has DRVR. CITS. for “Dorovernia Civitas” (Canterbury), and is the earliest known Anglo-Saxon coin with the place of mintage upon it. There are other types of the coins of this king, all rare.

KINGS OF MERCIA.

Of the South and West Saxons no well authenticated coins have been found, but of the kings of Mercia a fine series exists, all silver pennies. No. 13, Plate 2, is a coin of Eadwald, A.D. 716, supposed by some to be the same as Ethelwald. To understand the confused inscription, "Eadvald Rex," the middle line must be read first; then the *ALD* at the top, the *L* being reversed, and then the third line, *REX*. It must not be thought that this is a forced interpretation, as blundered inscriptions of this kind very frequently occur on this series of coins. Nos. 14 and 15 are silver pennies of Offa, A.D. 757, whose coins are among the most interesting and beautiful of the Saxon series. The heads are much better executed, with some attention to variety of relief, and the designs on the reverses often elegant and various for the period. It is supposed that his reported residence at Rome, in the pontificate of Adrian, possibly bringing back Italian artists, may account for this superiority. No. 14, Plate 2, is selected as a specimen, as having the king's bust, and an inscription reading, "Offa Rex." The letters on the reverse probably refer either to the place of mintage or to a moneyer's name. Some of his coins have "Rex Merciorum." No. 15 is another coin of Offa, but without the portrait. The inscription on the obverse is, as before, "Offa Rex," and on the reverse a moneyer's name. The moneyers' names on his coins are above forty. There are also silver pennies, but rare, supposed to be of Cynethryth, the queen of Offa, having on the obverse a female head, with an illegible inscription; reverse, "Cynethryt Regin." (No. 16, Plate 2.) These coins, whether of the queen or not, are evidently of the same period as those of Offa. On the coins of Offa, the moneyer's name occasionally occupies the obverse, that of the king being in such case transferred to the reverse, but never omitted. Ecgberht, the son of Offa, A.D. 796, survived his father only six months; yet there are pennies with his name, having the same moneyers' names as those of his father.

Coenwlf, A.D. 796 to 818. The pennies of this king present a great variety of types, evidently copied from those of Offa, but becoming gradually more and more rude in execution.

Ceolwlf, A.D. 819, succeeded, and reigned only a year. There is great difficulty in separating his coins from those of Ciolwlf, the usurper, who succeeded Burgred, the last of the legitimate kings; and the almost utter impossibility of assigning the proper coins to each has formed a delicious field for the discussions of numismatists.

Of Beornwulf, who reigned from 820 to 824, a few pennies are known, but they are very rare.

Of Ludica, from 824 to 825, and Wiglaf, from 825 to 839, the coins are very barbarous, and those of Wiglaf extremely rare. The specimen in the Museum was once sold for £12.

The coins of Berthulf, A.D. 839 to 852, in the same style, are not so rare.

Those of Burgred, A.D. 852 to 874, the last of the Mercian princes who reigned two-and-twenty years, are more numerous than any of his pre-

ecessors'. When driven from his dominions by the Danes, he escaped to the Continent, and retired to Rome, where he died, and was interred in St. Mary's Church, belonging to the English school established in that city. The coinage of Mercia had gradually declined from the reign of Offa, and that of Burgred is the worst of all.

The coins of Burgred have generally a small rude head, surrounded by "Burgred Rex," and on the reverse the moneyer's name, &c., &c. On the expulsion of Burgred, his minister Ciolwlf seized the reins of government, but only held them for a short time; and his deposition terminated the independence of Mercia. Nevertheless, he struck coins, which I have alluded to as being confounded with those of Ceolwlf; but, with the exception of the name, they are much more like those of Burgred.

All these were silver pennies, and were intended to weigh about twenty-two and a-half grains.

KINGS OF THE EAST ANGLES.

The earliest coins of the East Angles are those of Beonna, about A.D. 750, contemporary with Offa, King of Mercia. His coins were of the form, size, and appearance of skeattæ, and the king's name is sometimes written in Roman and sometimes in Runic characters, as on the specimen given, No. 17, Plate 2, which reads, "Beonna Rex:" the reverse has the name of Efe, the moneyer. There is a coin in the Museum with the name of Beonna on one side, and that of Ethelred, who succeeded him, on the other; from which it would seem that he had previously occupied the throne conjointly with Beonna.* The history of the East Angles, in the early part of the ninth century, is very obscure; but there appears some ground for considering Ethelweard,† of whom some coins exist, a prince of this district. There is also a unique coin of Beorthric, a prince of whom no record exists, and who is probably one of the unknown kings of the East Angles. Eadmund, A.D. 855 to 870, who was murdered by the Danes, and afterwards honoured with canonization, is commonly called St. Eadmund. He is generally styled "Rex," or "Rex A.," or An., and eighteen of his moneyers' names are known. No. 18, Plate 2, is one of his coins, having the name of Eadmund, with the title "Rex," and an A. in the centre; and on the reverse, the moneyer's name and a cross, &c., &c.

After the death of Eadmund, Guthrum (a Dane) was placed on the throne, who, being converted to Christianity, was baptized by the name of Ethelstan, A.D. 878. His name is generally found on his coins without title, but sometimes with "Re" or "Rex;" on one coin, which is very rare, "Rex Ang." (for Angliæ) appears on the reverse, instead of the moneyer's name, which is the first time the title of "King of England" appears on a coin (unless St. Eadmund's "Rex A." may be also so interpreted); for though Egbert, King

* The form of this coin of Beonna would seem to prove that the use of the Northumbrian skeattæ extended along the east coasts of Yorkshire and Lincoln to Norfolk; or that the coin ought to be assigned to a Northumbrian prince instead of one of the East Angles.

† Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*, p. 34.

of the West Saxons, subdued nearly the whole of South Britain between A.D. 800 and 837, and gave the name of England to his territories, it does not appear on his coins. No. 19, Plate 2, is a coin of Ethelstan, the Dane.

Only one prince, Eohric, succeeded Ethelstan in East Anglia, and there are no coins known of his reign. He was expelled by his subjects, and his dominions added to those of Eadward the Elder, the son of Ælfred the Great.

KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND.

The principal distinctive feature of the most remarkable of the Northumbrian coins is their metal; it is commonly termed copper, but is in fact a composition, whether accidental or intentional is unknown, containing, in one hundred parts, sixty to seventy of copper, twenty to twenty-five of zinc, five to eleven of silver, with minute portions of gold, lead, and tin. These coins are termed *stycas*, a name supposed to be derived from the Saxon *sticce*, "a minute part," two being equal to one farthing. Small money must have been wanted everywhere in times when an ox was sold for thirty pennies, and a sheep for one shilling, as was the case in the reign of Æthelstan; yet it appears that the circulation of these *stycas* was confined to Northumberland. They form the great bulk of the early Northumbrian coinage, but there were also the silver *skeattæ* before mentioned, and eventually silver pennies of the same weight and purity as the Saxon money of the other parts of the island. One would expect in this remote part of the country to find a greater degree of barbarism in the execution of the coins; but even in the earlier portion of the period during which these coins exist, which is as early as A.D. 670, some of them are quite equal to those of more southern districts, with the sole exception of the coins of Offa; and perhaps we need not be surprised, when we consider the presence of the celebrated monastic establishments of the period in that part of the island, whose artistic skill was exhibited as early as the seventh century, in such wonderful works of illumination as those contained in the magnificent MS. known as "The Durham Book." A series of Northumbrian coins exists, occupying a period extending from the epoch above-named to 945 A.D.; but to some of them, from the blundering in the writing of the names on the coins, and other difficulties, it is not easy to assign a proper place.

The earliest known coin of this series, No. 20, Plate 2, is a *styca* of Egfrith, who reigned from A.D. 670 to 685, and was celebrated for his patronage of the church, and of religious establishments for disseminating the light of truth. His Christianizing ardour would seem to have been symbolized on this remarkable coin, which bears a cross surrounded by "Egfrid Rex," whilst the reverse has a cross from which emanate rays of light surrounded by the word "Lux" (light).* Aldfrid reigned from A.D.

* This interpretation may, however, be disputed, as there are certain other letters following the LVX., but they resemble X. I., and, if so, the inscription would be still more interesting, as it might be read LVX. CHRISTI., (the light of Christ) XI. being an ordinary abbreviation used for Christ.

685 to A.D. 705, and there are two coins, one a skeatta of silver, and the other a styca, which are supposed to be of his coinage.*

Of Eadbert, from A.D. 737 to 758, there are coins which have hitherto been assigned to Ecgerht, King of Kent.

Of Alchred, 737 to 774, there is a supposed coin; and in the list of Northumbrian kings the name of Elfwald occurs, who reigned from 779 to 788, and to whom Mr. Hawkins is induced to attribute three coins of different readings, all evidently corrupt and blundered (as is frequently the case on coins of this period). One, then in the collection of Mr. Cuff, reads EITVAID, the L's being reversed; but by turning them we obtain "Elfvald." The other, in the possession of Mr. Brummel, reads VALDÆELA; one half of this word has the F upside down, and reads backwards. If we read the last half thus, first correcting the F, we get ALEF, and then taking the other half of the word in the usual way, we get ALEFVALD. This may seem to the uninitiated more ingenious than likely; but when the different modes of writing Saxon names are taken into consideration, also the ignorance of the engravers of the dies, or rather punches, who could not, most likely, either read or write, but copied the characters mechanically; and add to this, that in the engraving they must be made *backward*, as on a seal, in order that the impression may be read *forward*,—when we consider all this, the blunders may be easily accounted for, and the ingenious interpretation of Mr. Hawkins be considered a fair one. No. 21, Plate 2, represents the first named of these coins, a styca, which seems to read ELFVALD. X.

Heardulf reigned from A.D. 794 to 806; but no coins of his were found till 1833, when a hoard of (8,000) Northumbrian coins was discovered in digging an unusually deep grave in Hexham churchyard, Durham. They were contained in a bronze vessel, and were all stycas, consisting of 2,000 of Eadred, 2,000 of Ethelred, 100 of Redulf, 100 Archbishop Eanbald, 800 Archbishop Vigmund, a few of Heardulf, and about 3,000 more, which were dispersed without examination. It seems probable that they were buried not later than 844, as there were no coins of later date, unless those unintelligible ones which some have supposed, without much ground, to be of Aella.†

Alfwold succeeded Heardulf, but we have no coins of his reign. He was succeeded by Eanred, from A.D. 808 to 840, whose stycas are numerous, presenting from sixty to seventy moneyers' names. There is also a silver penny, by some attributed to him; but Mr. Hawkins prefers on several grounds to assign it to some other prince of the same name.

Of Æthelred, from A.D. 840 to 848, there are stycas differing slightly in the disposition of minor ornaments, from those of his predecessors. These principally occur in conjunction with the name of the moneyer Leofdegn, who seems to have aimed at a little more embellishment than his predecessors and cotemporaries. There is in the collection of Mr. Brummel a coin of fine silver of this king, in all other respects resembling his usual stycas;

* The skeatta was formerly in the collection of Mr. Cuff, the styca in that of Mr. Luxcombe.—Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*.

† Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*.

but such pieces, of which there are examples of different styles and periods, can only be regarded as essays or caprices of some one engaged in the mint, and not as forming part of the general currency.

Of Redulf, who usurped the throne for a few months only, during the reign of Æthelred, there are some coins in existence of the usual character. Of Osbercht, A.D. 848 to 867, who succeeded Æthelred, there are a few styecas, but they are very rare.

Of Aella, who reigned about this period, there are no coins, unless those unintelligible ones found among the Hexham hoard (before mentioned) should prove to be his.

Regnald, the Dane, landed in Northumbria, A.D. 912, and being successful in establishing himself, reigned till 944. His coins are very rare, and interesting on account of the Roman title *rex* being abandoned by him for the Saxon *cununc*. No. 22, Plate 2, in the collection of the Dean of St. Patrick's, being broken, shows only *Reg*, the *nald* being broken away; but the word *cununc* is perfect. The reverse shows a trefoil or triple knot, perhaps an early symbol of the Trinity: it is the size and form of the Saxon penny.

Anlaf (called King of Ireland) next invaded Northumbria in 937, and though at first defeated, eventually established his power, being elected in 942: he was overthrown and defeated by Edmund in 945. His coins are silver pennies, and very rare, of which No. 23, Plate 2 is an example. It has for type the Danish raven, the badge of their enchanted standard, and on the reverse a small cross, and may perhaps be considered one of the earliest examples of an approach to an heraldic cognizance. His Irish coins are described at the close of the following chapter.

In 927, Eric, the son of Harold of Norway, had been placed by Æthelstan (grandson of Ælfred the Great) as his feudatory king in Northumberland; but his authority was not acknowledged till elected by the Northumbrians themselves in 949. Two years afterwards he was expelled and slain, and is considered the last king of Northumbria, Eadred having succeeded in adding that district finally to his dominions. The coins of Eric are silver pennies. He is styled "Eric Rex," with sometimes N for Northumbria; his type is a sword, like that on the pieces termed coins of St. Peter.

COINS OF SAINTS.

This seems to be the proper place to speak of coins of saints, or rather coins bearing their names, which were struck by particular abbots in virtue of authority granted for that purpose. Those of St. Peter have been called "Peter's pence," and erroneously supposed to have been coined for the purpose of paying to Rome the tribute known by that name. The coins bearing the name of St. Peter are silver pennies, and were coined at York, as the legend on the reverse is always Eboraci (of York), more or less abbreviated. The sword on the obverse being precisely similar to that on the coins of Eric, refers these coins at once to that period. No. 24, Plate 2, is a specimen.

Those of St. Martin are similar, with the exception of having "Lincolia

civit" (city of Lincoln) on the reverse: they are undoubtedly of the same period.

Those of St. Edmund (No. 25, Plate 2) do not bear the name of a place of mintage. They appear to be earlier than the time of Edward the Confessor, and must be placed at latest with those of St. Peter and St. Martin. They possibly refer to St. Eadmund Rex, of the East Angles, A.D. 855 to 870. They are without the "sword" of the other coins of this class. On the obverse the inscription appears to read S. EADMVN. R.

COINS OF DIGNITARIES OF THE CHURCH.

The archbishops, bishops, and abbots, had authority, soon after the firm establishment of Christianity in the island, to strike money and enjoy the profits of mintage. But archbishops alone had the privilege of stamping the coins with their portraits and names,—a privilege withdrawn by Æthelstan in 924. The ecclesiastical coinage after that period is only distinguished from the royal by the peculiar mint marks, and these terminated in the reign of Henry VIII. The specimens given in this Plate are from the coins of archbishops previous to the edict of Æthelstan. Those of the archbishops of Canterbury are pennies.*

No. 26, Plate 2, is one of Jaenbert, who held the see of Canterbury from 763 to 790. It has a flower surrounded by IAENBRHT. AR. EP., for archiepiscopus; and on the reverse "Offa Rex," from which it would appear that they had in some way joint jurisdiction.

No. 27, Plate 2, is a coin of Ceolnoth, who held the see of Canterbury from 830 to 870. It has the front face of the archbishop, with his name, and on the reverse a cross, with "civitas" in the angles; the legend being DOROVERNIA (Canterbury).† The legend on the obverse reads, CEOLNOD. ARHI. EPI.

The coins of the *Archbishops of York* were stycas till they became, by the edict of Æthelstan, assimilated to the coins of the realm. Ulphere or Vulphere, who held this see from 854 to 892, is the last prelate whose name occurs on coins of the episcopal mint.‡ (See No. 28, Plate 2.)

* Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*.

† There are also coins of Vulfred, 803 to 830; Plegmund, 891 to 923; and Ethered, 871 to 890 A.D.

‡ There are stycas of Eanbald, 796; and Vigmund, 851.

CHAPTER IV.

COINS OF THE SAXON AND DANISH SOLE MONARCHS OF ENGLAND.

FROM EGBERT TO EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

EGBERT (800 to 837). The first sole monarch, as Egbert (Ecgbeorht) has been termed, became the King of the West Saxons in the year 800 A.D., and gradually subduing nearly the whole of South Britain, gave the name of England to his territories, which did not, however, comprise the whole of England, as Burgred, King of Mercia, reigned as late as 874, in the time of Ælfred the Great. Ethelstan was also King of the East Angles late in the reign of Ælfred—namely, 890; while Eric, King of Northumberland, though tributary to the grandson of Ælfred, might even then, in 951, be considered as holding separate jurisdiction. It was not till Eadred, another grandson of Ælfred, who succeeded his brothers Æthelstan and Eadmund, that Northumbria was annexed, and not till the reign of Edgar that the whole kingdom may be said to have been firmly united under one monarch. But having already spoken of the kings of the Heptarchy separately, I may henceforth, for the sake of convenience of arrangement, treat of the coins of Egbert and his successors as sole monarchs of England.

The coins of Egbert do not differ in general from those of the kings of the Heptarchy. Some have the king's profile, with his name, as "Ecgbeorht Rex," with a cross, and the moneyer's name on the reverse; others have only a cross on the obverse, with his name and title, and on the reverse a different cross with the moneyer's name. Some, instead of the cross on the reverse, have a monogram supposed to be "Dorob. C." (city of Canterbury); and others "Saxo" or "Saxon," with the king's name and title as legend. No. 1, Plate 3, is that with the supposed monogram, "Dorob. C.," on the reverse.

ÆTHELWLF (837 to 856) succeeded his father A.D. 837; but his brother, Æthelstan, took a part of the territory—namely, Kent, Essex, Sussex, and Surrey. On his death they reverted to Ethelwlf; so that some of his coins exhibit the legend, "Rex. Cant. Saxoniorum," and sometimes "Occidentalium Saxoniorum." Canterbury is the only mint named on the coins of this king. No. 2, Plate 3, is one of his coins: it has a head surrounded with EDELVULF REX, and the reverse has a double cross, with the moneyer's name. There are many varieties of his coins, in which the small crosses are of a different design, &c.; some have the monogram of Christ in the centre of the reverse.

ÆTHELBALD (855 to 860). A coin of this king is said to have been formerly known to collectors, and No. 3, Plate 3, is from an engraving of it,



made, however, under doubtful authority. But Dr. Coombe affirmed that the coin really was once in the collection of Mr. Austin.

ÆTHELBEARHT, second son of Ethelwlf (856 to 866). Sixty varieties of the moneyers' names upon his coins are known. No. 4, Plate 3, a coin of this king, has his bust, with the legend AEDELBEARHT. REX., and on the reverse the letters of the moneyer's name arranged in the angles of a cross, &c.

ÆTHELRED (866 to 871) deprived Æthelbearht's children of their inheritance, and ascended the throne himself. His coins are generally light, and of impure silver, and somewhat resemble those of Burgred, King of Mercia.* No. 5, Plate 3, is a specimen.

ALFRED, OR ÆLFRED, THE GREAT. Alfred, who was the younger brother of Æthelred, reigned from 871 to 901 A.D. I have, in my restricted space, found it necessary to describe very briefly the coinage of the Heptarchy, and of the (so-called) sole monarchs up to this period; but the coinage of this celebrated Anglo-Saxon prince seems to call for somewhat more detail in its description, not only on account of the European importance then, for the first time, assumed by an English monarch, but also on account of the intrinsic interest which the coinage of his reign in itself presents to the researches of the numismatist. Till recently but few well authenticated coins of Alfred had been discovered; but late researches have so much increased their numbers that a great variety of types are now known, which form an interesting monetary evidence of the activity and progressive character of this remarkable reign.

The name of the king is spelt in many different ways on the coins issued at different epochs and in different places; it is found as Æfred, Elfred, Elfered, Ælfræd, Ælfrède, and even Aelbred.

The coins which are attributed to his earliest issues are those with a small rude head, and the name written ELFERED, with M-X +, which last letters are generally considered to refer to a place of mintage, and not to the sovereignty of Mercia, as formerly supposed. On the reverse the moneyer's name and titles occupy three lines; Tata, the name of a moneyer, being in the centre, MON above, and ETA below, forming MONETA, an abbreviation of monetarius. The names of Tilepeine, Dudd, Biarnulf, Deigmund, Dunn, Cialmod, and several others, occur on this series. Among them, those bearing the names of Cialmod, Siestef, Cialulf, and some others, are of very base metal, and belong perhaps to the unsettled early period of the reign, being like the coins of Burgred (of Mercia) and Ethelred in general character. Among the coins to be perhaps placed next in succession in his reign, is a remarkable one, with what has been called a *Tau*, or capital T, on the reverse, but which I think may very probably be merely a cross, the upper limb of which has not been completed by the die sinker; for no probable meaning has ever been assigned to the device taken as a T. The really remarkable part of its character is the name of the place of

* Hawkins's *Silver Coins of England*.

mintage "at Gloucester," written in Saxon, as "ÆT. GLEAPA." The obverse has the head of Alfred evidently copied from that of a Roman emperor, of the debased latter coinage of Rome, with the inscription ÆLFRED. X.

The next class of Alfred's coins to be mentioned, as presenting a peculiarity of device, is that in which there is no portrait on the obverse, and in place of it the name and title written so as to form a cross, as on the coins of Ethelwulf and Ethelbert, with trifoliate ornaments in the angles; the reverse having a rather graceful quatrefoil ornament, much in the style of those on the coins of Offa, containing the name of the moneyer. The next in chronological order are probably those of the type of the leaden pattern, or trial, found during some excavations near St. Paul's. These have the portrait on the obverse, in the style of those of the late Roman emperors (having about the head the royal fillet or diadem). They have the inscription "Æfred," or "Elfred Rex S.," or "Rex Sax," for "Rex Saxonium"—King of the Saxons. These coins, it is supposed, were issued about 874, in the fourth year of his reign. A specimen of this class is engraved in Plate 3, No. 7: the name of the moneyer reads DIARMVND.

It would appear that as the power and influence of Alfred increased, that the credit of his coinage, as well as his fame as a military leader and legislator, extended to the Continent; and that, as in later times, the Esterlings or Sterlings (the silver pennies) of Edward the First, Second, and Third, were imitated on the Continent in consequence of the high estimation in which the English money was held for its full weight and purity, so in the reign of Alfred similar imitations of the English coin took place. Some of these have on the obverse ÆLFR REX, round the portico of a temple, and on the reverse the name of the place of mintage, QVETOVVCL. They are remarkable as presenting types not known on the coins of Alfred—no specimens of the original from which they were copied having been found; but such we may safely expect to occur, as fresh specimens, many of them with new types, are being constantly added to our collections. This device, the temple portico surrounded by ÆLFRED REX, is a precisely similar type to that found on the Franco-Gallic coins, which have the legend CXRISTIANO RELIGIO. The next coins of his reign are those perhaps which have attracted the greatest amount of attention among the curious, as having the name of London as Londonia written in the form of a monogram, which occupies the whole of the reverse. The coin engraved in Plate 3, No. 6, is a fair example of this class, of which many varieties are now known; some having the D to the right of the N, which is, in fact, its proper position; otherwise it has to be read backwards. There are silver halfpennies, of the large monogram type, which are the first known of the British series. The coins with the large monogram of London are supposed to have been issued on the rebuilding of London in 881, after it had been burned by the Danes. They may therefore be considered as very interesting historical monuments. Some of them, of a later issue, have the monogram much smaller, and placed between two lines, which contain the name of the moneyer. Some of Alfred's coins of this epoch have the names of other

places of mintage, written in a small monogram similar to that of London. After about this period the coins of this prince were issued without the portrait. Alfred, being a good judge of art, may not have approved of the grotesque figure he was made to assume on his coinage, and may therefore have insisted on the name only being used. Whether this conjecture be well founded or not, the coins from this time forward appear without the royal portrait. They have generally a small cross within a circle on the obverse, round which the name and title are so grouped as to form a cross; XEL being generally the upper group of letters, FR the group to the right, ED the lower group, and RE the group to the left. On the reverse is generally the moneyer's name, with the place of mintage, many of them having been struck at Lincoln; Alfred's coins having probably been the first struck in that city. One of the coins of this class has a very singular reverse formed of a cross, with a letter attached to each of its limbs, which letters read CNVT. (a common Danish name of the period), with R. E. X. disposed in three of the angles. It would appear that this is the name of a piratic prince who succeeded in establishing himself in some part of England during the reign of Alfred, and during some forced acknowledgment of joint authority, struck these coins, which have the name of Ælfred on the obverse. The names of nearly a hundred different moneyers occur on the coinage of this reign, having the lettering grouped in the form of a cross. In one or two cases the abbreviated word, *mone* or *moneta*, is replaced by ME. FEC (it). The cruciform arrangement of the letters of the name and titles is peculiarly English, and principally confined, in the English coinage, to the coins of Alfred and his cotemporary, Guthrum, the Dane who was converted to Christianity, and reigned in East Anglia. This style of coinage appears to have commenced between 880 and 890, and continued to the end of the reign.

There are in some places coins belonging to the last period of Alfred's reign, which appear to have been issued jointly by the king and Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, who succeeded to the see in 890 A.D. On these coins the name of the bishop, abbreviated, follows that of the king, as AELFRED. REX. PLEGN., others have AELFRED. REX. DORO., Doro being the abbreviation of Dorobernia (Canterbury): on the reverse they have the moneyer's name. The next and last coins to be mentioned of this reign have the inscriptions both of the obverse and reverse arranged in three lines. This is somewhat remarkable, as in almost all other coins of the Anglo-Saxon series, those which have the name and titles arranged in horizontal lines have a circular arrangement of the inscriptions on the reverse. Some of the coins of this epoch of the reign have the king's name on the obverse, followed either by that of the moneyer, or of some person, as a prelate, for instance, who shared the privilege of coining with the king. Of this class those with ÆLFRED BERNVALDMO may be cited. On the reverse is ORSNAFORDA, sometimes written OKSNAFORDA (Oxford); and on some of similar character the place of mintage follows that of the king on the obverse, and the name Bernualdmo, or Bernualdia, is transferred to the reverse. Of all the coins with the inscriptions running across, those with X. ÆLFRED REX. SAXONVM, at full length,

divided into four lines, are perhaps the most interesting. These have generally no moneyer's name. Among the places of mintage, Exeter is represented by the letters $\frac{E}{A}$ placed in a vertical line on the reverse of the coin; and those of Winchester with $\frac{P}{N}$ arranged in a similar manner; the Saxon ρ being used instead of vv . There is a large coin of this reign, of similar character to the last described, which some have supposed to be a quarter of a silver mancus. It weighs $164\frac{1}{2}$ grains, the weight assigned to the mancus being 675 grains, which would give $168\frac{3}{4}$ as its quarter. If this should prove to be a coin of this description, and not a pattern, or a medal, it would be a very remarkable example of the advanced views of this monarch, as no silver coins of so high a value were issued in Europe for several centuries after the reign of Alfred.

EDWARD THE ELDER (901 to 925) succeeded his father Ælfred. His coins are very numerous, exhibiting above eighty varieties of moneyers' names. Both pennies and halfpennies of his reign occur: the latter, however, seldom weigh more than from 7 to 9 grains.* His portrait generally occupies the obverse of his coins, in a rude but somewhat Roman style, the reverses being very various; some having a building, too coarse in execution to be interesting as a record of any period of architecture, but which is stated to be a copy of the gate of the Prætorian camp, as it is sometimes represented on Roman coins from Diocletian to Theodosius (No. 9, Plate 3). Others have a large hand, expressed by raised outlines, as in No. 8, Plate 3, which has the hand issuing from a cloud, as the hand of Providence; the obverse having merely the legend "Eadweard Rex," and a small cross in the centre. Some of the reverses of Æthelstan have a similar building, and the moneyer's name "Regnald," with "Eboraci ex." (City of York); the obverse having no head, but merely the king's name, with the addition of a small cross in the centre. Other buildings, as well as the gate of the Prætorian camp, are found on late Roman coins, from which those of the Anglo-Saxon coinage may have been copied. Some of the coins of this reign, probably the first, are in precisely the same style as the last of Alfred; having the name and title in four lines on the obverse, and the place of mintage only on the reverse, generally Bath, written BA. or BAD.

ÆTHELSTAN (925 to 941) succeeded his father. He paid considerable attention to his coinage, determining, among other regulations, made at a grand synod at which Wulfhelme, Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the wise and powerful of the kingdom were assembled, that the whole coinage of the realm should be alike. He therefore withdrew from archbishops, or others, the privilege of having their portraits or names on the coins which they minted. He also established places of coinage at a number of the then principal towns; and the ecclesiastical and royal mints have, from that period, no distinctive types, till about Edward I., when those privileged to coin money adopted mint-marks, such as initial letters or badges, by which their

* It has been thought from their weight that they are thirds of pennies, as such coins are mentioned in the laws of Alfred.

coins are to be distinguished. In the laws of Æthelstan regarding the coinage, it was enacted, with a view to suppress the numberless private or secret mints that had sprung up, "that no one shall strike money except within the walls"—that is, the walls of a privileged city; and that those who work in a wood, or elsewhere, unauthorized, shall suffer amputation of the hand. The number of mints was for the first time regulated as follows:—that there shall be in Canterbury seven moneyers; in Rochester, three; in London, eight; in Winchester, six; at Lewes, two; at Hastings, one; at Winchester, one; at Hampton, two; at Durham, two; at Exeter, two; at Shaftsbury, two; and at the other mint towns, one.

Æthelstan, however, while suppressing the names of such as were allowed the privilege of coining, retained the name of the actual moneyer, which still continued on the reverses of the coins, and was from that period much more constantly accompanied by that of the place of mintage, preceded by the word "Urbs," or "Civitas." He is generally styled "Rex," sometimes "Rex Saxonum," but frequently "Rex totius Britanniae;" showing that Egbert and his descendants have not been fancifully styled sole monarchs of all Britain by subsequent historians, but that it was actually a title they assumed. Indeed, so great an event was the consolidation of the Heptarchy considered, that more than one of the British monarchs had thoughts of taking the title of emperor (*imperator*), but yielded to a contrary wish of the Pope. There are on the coins of Æthelstan about sixty variations of names of mints, and full 100 of moneyers' names, and the reverses of some have rude buildings, previously referred to, like those of his father. Some little confusion occurs as to a few coins formerly attributed to Æthelstan the sole monarch, which Mr. Hawkins is inclined to attribute to another King Æthelstan, of the East Angles; but the specimen No. 10, Plate 3, is an undoubted coin of the grandson of Alfred. It has the head of the king, in imitation of the debased Roman style, and on the reverse the moneyer's name and the place of mintage, which appears to be "London."

EADMUND (941 to 946). His coins are similar in general character to those of his brother Æthelstan, but none have been found having buildings on the reverses, like those of his two predecessors. His portrait has sometimes a helmet, and sometimes a crown: in the specimen No. 11, Plate 3, it is helmeted. The place of mintage is generally omitted on his coins: some of them have been mistaken for those of St. Edmund.

EADRED (946 to 955), another brother of Æthelstan. The types of his coins are similar to those of his immediate predecessor. The specimen No. 12, Plate 3, has "Eadred Rex," and on the reverse the moneyer's name. Norwich is the only ascertained place of mintage in this reign.

EADWIG (955 to 959), the son of Eadmund, succeeded his uncle. The specimen No. 13, Plate 3, has his portrait, with "Eadwig Rex:" the reverse, which I have not given, has only the moneyer's name and a small cross. No. 14, Plate 3, is the reverse of another of his coins, with the moneyer's name and a peculiar ornament. The head (No. 13) approaches the style of

the continental art of the period more nearly than any other specimen of the series.

EADGAR (958 to 975) had been elected to, or rather had usurped, during his brother's life, a portion of the country, and on his death became sole monarch—the first Saxon king who has a real claim to that title. He renewed the edict of Æthelstan respecting the uniformity of the coinage, and also enacted that none should refuse it—an edict rendered necessary by the clipping of the pennies, which had reduced them to half their value. St. Dunstan refused to celebrate mass on Whitsunday until three moneyers, who had falsified the coin, had undergone their punishment—loss of the right hand. The coins of Eadgar present few distinctive characters from those of his predecessors, and he is styled simply "*Rex*," but sometimes the letters TO. BI. occur, which may be "*Totius Britanniae*." His coins are numerous: the moneyer's name frequently occurs without the place of mintage. The specimen No. 15, Plate 3, shows the king's head with a fillet and crown; the reverse has the moneyer's name, &c.

EDWARD THE MARTYR (975 to 978), son of Edgar, after reigning three years, was murdered at the age of seventeen, by command of his step-mother, Elfrida. Notwithstanding his early death and short reign, his coins are common; but they appear somewhat ruder in execution than those of his father. He is styled "*Rex Anglorum*," more or less abbreviated: in the specimen No. 16, Plate 3, it is AGL. only. His name is spelt EADPEARD, the Saxon P being used instead of the vv.

ÆTHELRED, the son of Elfrida (978 to 1016). This weak prince succeeded to the throne at the early age of ten, and the improvement in the coinage must probably be attributed to Dunstan, who, tired of the political intrigues which had occupied too much of his earlier career, devoted himself in his declining years to those arts in which he is known to have been a great proficient. The coin selected as a specimen (No. 17, Plate 3) represents the king in a sort of mailed armour peculiar to the period, and wearing a crowned helmet, partially of mail, but protected by a longitudinal ornamented bar; the whole sufficiently well executed to form an interesting record of the arms of the period. The reverse exhibits one of the first examples of the "voided cross," which, with the addition of the martlet in the angles, formed subsequently the device of some of the coins of Edward the Confessor, and has been termed his "arms." A sceptre also appears for the first time on some of the coins of Æthelred, in front of the profile (No. 18, Plate 3), which in subsequent reigns became general: on the reverse is the hand of Providence of the coins of Edward the Elder. There is much controversy respecting some coins bearing this king's name, which resemble the coins of the early Irish kings, and are by some supposed to have been coined by Æthelred in Dublin, his father having possessed himself of a large portion of Ireland. (See end of the following chapter.)

EDMUND IRONSIDE, the son of Æthelred (1016 to 1017), on the death of his father, found the kingdom in the greatest confusion from the contest going on with the Danes, who had landed in great numbers, led by Sweyn,

in the year 1013, and whose son, the youthful Cnut, now disputed the kingdom with the successor of Æthelred. It was eventually agreed to divide it; but Edmund dying in 1017, Cnut became sole monarch. Of Edmund Ironside no coins have been discovered.

CNUT (1017 to 1035). His coins are very numerous, and exhibit above 340 variations of moneymen's names, various types, and more places of mintage than any other coins of the period. They resemble in execution those of Æthelred. The specimen No. 19, Plate 3, is supposed to commemorate the peace established with Edmund Ironside in 1016, having the word "Pacx" (Peace) in the angles of a voided cross on the reverse. No. 20 is another coin of Cnut, having the title at full length, as "Rex Anglorum." Those on which he is described as "Rex Danorum" are very rare; they were doubtless coined in Denmark.* There are also coins of his which have the name of Dublin on the reverse; which may prove that he held in subjection a portion of Ireland. He was succeeded by his son.

HAROLD I. (1035 to 1040). His coins closely resemble those of his father and Æthelred. The specimen No. 21, Plate 2, has his portrait in a sort of mail armour, with a sceptre, and "Harold Rex:" the reverse, the voided cross, &c.

HARTHACNUT (1040 to 1042) was elected king of England on the death of his brother. English and Danish coins (both rare) of this king are found, and it is difficult to separate them, as there was a place of mintage in Denmark the name of which cannot be distinguished from London. The specimen No. 22, Plate 3, has on the reverse a cross formed of four ovals, similar to crosses on some of the coins of his father. He is merely styled "Rex," without any reference to Denmark or England.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR (1042 to 1066). On the death of Harthacnut, who perished from excess of gluttony, thoroughly detested for his cruelty by the whole nation, the Saxon line was restored; and the throne reverted to Edward, the surviving son of Æthelred. His coins are very various. On some of them the head is bearded, possibly in allusion to his coming to the throne at a late period of life—a somewhat unusual circumstance in those times; or possibly, from his wearing a beard, in fulfilment of some vow or penance connected with his well-known devotional character, which gave him the cognomen of Confessor. His pennies vary exceedingly in size, from half an inch to an inch, but appear to have been all of the same nominal value, every intermediate gradation occurring without any regularity. It appears that halfpence and farthings were generally formed in this reign by cutting the pennies into two or four, as parcels of coins have been found so cut, which had evidently never been in circulation, seeming to prove that they were so issued from the mint. The specimen No. 24, Plate 3, is a coin of this king, which, for the first time, exhibits a full figure of the sovereign seated on a throne, holding the orb and sceptre. It has the legend EADPRD. REX ANGLO., for "Eadward Rex Anglorum," the Saxon P being

* Hawkins.

used for w in Edward. The reverse shows the voided cross, with martlets in the angles, called the Confessor's arms. No. 23, Plate 3, is another silver penny of this king: the head is bearded, with a helmet; and there is a voided cross, and the place of mintage, on the reverse. In a communication by Sir H. Ellis to the Numismatic Society, a halfpenny also of his reign is mentioned. Edward is supposed to have first introduced from Normandy where he had long resided in exile, the oppressive custom of frequent recoinages, each alteration causing a great loss to the nation and great gain to the prince—a practice extensively abused by some of the first sovereigns after the Norman conquest.

HAROLD II. (1066). A son of the powerful Earl Godwin, whose daughter the late king had married, now usurped the throne. His father having married a daughter of Cnut had also some pretensions to the crown, through the Danish line; and overlooking, therefore, the claims of the infant Edgar Atheling, Harold at once assumed the title of king. His reign terminated nine months afterwards on the battle-field of Hastings. But though he reigned only nine months, there are coins that may undoubtedly be ascribed to him, as they have been discovered in parcels which contained no others, except those of William the Conqueror and Edward the Confessor; otherwise they might have been attributed to Harold I. The specimen No. 25, Plate 3, exhibits the profile of the king, with a double arched crown (like some of his predecessor's), and a sceptre. I have heard no good reason assigned for the word "Pax" on the reverse, the existence of which seems rather to invalidate the supposition given for the appearance of that word on a coin of Cnut. Ruding (who quotes North) explains this by the circumstance of its existing on a coin of Edward the Confessor, struck, he thinks, in commemoration of a peace or compact made with Earl Godwin (Harold's father), by which that family was to succeed to the throne. The word was also adopted in rivalry by William of Normandy, in token of his own alleged compact with Edward for his succession to the throne. It was continued by Rufus, probably with the same feeling. The portrait of Harold is represented bearded, like that of Edward the Confessor; possibly to convey an idea of his being his adopted successor, as beards were not generally worn at the period, but merely a moustache on the upper lip, which the immediately succeeding Norman coins represent very distinctly. The coins of Harold close the Anglo-Saxon series.

To those engaged in forming collections of the most interesting types of the Anglo-Saxon series of coins, it should be known that some of the most important and interesting coins of this series are to be found in the national collections of Copenhagen and Stockholm.

THE GOLD COINAGE OF THE ANGLO-SAXON EPOCH.

Though a few gold coins have been discovered belonging to this epoch, which are undoubtedly genuine, yet they are of such an exceptional character as not to call for detailed description in this work. They belong (at present, at all events) to the mere curiosities of the subject, and as such, our space

forbids their admission here. That Offa struck a few imitations of the Arab coins which circulated in Spain, and other princes also struck a few pieces, some of them imitations of the Merovingian triens, is pretty certain; but it is equally certain that there was no national coinage of gold in Saxon times. The gold piece, with the types of Edward the Confessor, weighing $54\frac{1}{4}$ grains, now in the possession of Mr. Spurrier, is generally believed to be either a forgery or an essay struck in a die engraved for a silver penny.

EARLIEST COINAGE OF IRELAND.

At the period of the Norman conquest of England the old Celtic ring-money was still used in many parts of Ireland, though the Danish invaders, who had subdued the southern portion of the island, had introduced a coinage of silver pennies similar to that of England, and apparently copied from those of the Anglo-Saxon princes of the period. These Irish coins had, however, peculiarities of execution not found on those of England, especially in the curious treatment of the hair by the barbarous artists of the Irish mints, and which, by our early antiquarians, was taken for rays, representing a kind of glory—a mistake long since disproved. This peculiarity will be better understood by reference to the coins Nos. 2 and 3, Plate 18.

The supposition that the Irish had no other money than the ring-money previous to the first Danish invasion, about 853 A.D., is to some extent corroborated by the fact that no native coins have been discovered, while a series of Hiberno-Danish coins commence from that epoch, which extends to the period when the whole of Ireland was subjected to the Anglo-Norman princes of England, in the reign of Henry II. (1154-1189 A.D.). Of Anlaf I., the first Danish King of Ireland, no coins are known; but to Imars or Ifars, King of Limerick, his brother, the rude coin No. 1, Plate 18, may with tolerable certainty be attributed. Ifars was at first King of Limerick only, but after the death of Anlaf he succeeded to all the Danish possessions in Ireland. The rude coins attributed to this prince are now common in Ireland. They are of very peculiar execution, the form of the face being expressed by dots. On each side of the head are the characters IMF. or IML., turned towards the head; the remainder of the legends, which are very irregular and blundered, seem to read NND, also repeated. These letters are found on many Hiberno-Danish coins, and are supposed to stand for "Normanorum, Dyflin," or "Normanorum Dominus;" most probably they express NORMANORVM DIFLINAE (of the Normans of Dublin)—that is, money of the Northmen of Dublin. The characters IML. would appear to stand for IMAR. or IMFAR. The same letters are found on Anglo-Saxon skeattæ; and as Imars was King of the Northmen both in Ireland and England, it is possible the skeattæ in question were also struck by this prince, the types of both series being doubtless a rude imitation of some Anglo-Saxon coin.

The next specimen, No. 2, Plate 18, is attributed to ENRED, a cotemporary of Sithric III. (989 A.D.). It resembles in type the coins of the last-named prince, and also those attributed to Donald. The legend on the obverse is + ENRED. REX. M. N., and on the reverse HERVE. MO. DIR. No

prince of this name (Enred) occurs in the Irish annals, but the close general resemblance of the coin to those of the princes above referred to, has induced Mr. Lindsay to attribute it to the same district as the coins bearing the legend DYMNOEX. MN., which are cotemporary with those of Sithric III. It may, therefore, be a coin of Anrad, one of the princes of the Northmen who fought at Clontarf, and was killed in that battle. Over which of the petty Irish kingdoms he ruled, it is not easy to guess; but the letters referring to the name of the place of mintage, DIR., may eventually lead to the desired discovery.

No. 3, Plate 18, is another Hiberno-Danish coin: it belongs to IFARZ II., King of Dublin in 993. It bears the usual type, the rude head on the obverse and the long double cross on the reverse. The legend round the head appears to be IIMRZ. REX, the remaining letters being probably intended for DIFNLIN. On the reverse is a legend, which seems intended for FAEREIN. MO. DINL., retrograde—for FAEREIN. moneta (or monetarius) Diftlinæ: the coin is neatly executed, and one of the very few whose appropriation to this king may perhaps be said to be beyond question.

The coins of SITHRIC III. (989 A.D.) are more numerous than those of any other Danish king of Ireland. The specimen engraved, No. 4, Plate 18, has a portrait of the king bareheaded, with the hair executed in the manner peculiar to the Irish coinage of the period. The legends generally read, when perfect, ZITIR. DIFLMEORVM, the last word being contracted, as we find on English coins of Æthelred, which may, perhaps, be meant to express "Zitirie (chief of) the people (Northmen) of Dublin." The reverse has a short double cross, with CRVX in the angles; the moneyers' names that occur on the reverse of the coins of Sithric III., are FASTOL., EOLF., CIOLF., ALFSTE., and several others.

No. 5, Plate 18, is attributed to ANLAF V. (1029 A.D.). On this rude but singular coin a part of the legend is retrograde, and terminates in the letters LAF, from which circumstance it has been assigned to Anlaf V. or VI., King of Dublin. On the neck of the portrait is that curious kind of ornament, or cross, found on many rude Scandinavian coins, and which may, perhaps represent a reliquary.

No. 6, Plate 18, is attributed to ASKEL (1159 A.D.). Of the series of coins of the Hiberno-Danish princes which continued to be issued till late in the twelfth century, those known are attributed to Ifars II., Anlaf V., Anlaf VI., Ifars III., Ecmargach, Regnald, Oictor, Ifars (King of Limerick), Askel, and others. Askel, to whom the coin under description is attributed, was the last but one of this race of Danish princes holding authority in Ireland. The legend exhibits the letters AMEIL. EOY, reversed and retrograde, intended for AZEIL. EOYVNC. If the monetary symbols on this coin, which appear to be ancient fibulæ and pieces of *ring-money*, should prove to be so, they render it very interesting, and seem to show that the Celtic money in that form was still in circulation, at all events as tribute, or for devotional donations, in which cases the ring was no doubt richly ornamented in the manner of those engraved in Plate 16 A. The enlarged cups or knobs at

each end of the rings seem, in fact, very clearly defined on this curious coin.

One of the real difficulties attending the correct attribution of the Hiberno-Danish coins, arises from the rudeness of the legends, which are frequently nothing more than a series of strokes made to imitate the appearance of a legend. The only coins that can be attributed to native Irish princes belong to a period subsequent to that of the earliest Hiberno-Danish coins. These are the pieces attributed to Donald or Domnald, a king of a part of Ireland, who reigned from 956 to 980, or Donald Claen, King of Leinster, who was defeated by Melachlin, King of Ireland, in 983. These coins have a portrait in the usual Irish style, with the spike-like hair, and the legend DYMN. ROEX. MNECHI. They might, however, considering the blundered and irregular character of the inscription, be assigned to a prince bearing some such name as MENECHI, bearing the title of King of Dublin, the inscription being read as MNECHI. ROEX. DYMN (BLYNAE).

Irish coins bearing the names of CNVT (Canute) and ÆDELRED (Æthelred) are supposed by some to prove that Æthelred and Canute held temporary possession of Dublin, and some portion of the surrounding districts; but by other numismatists they are considered copies of English coins by Danish moneyers who were incapable of executing original types.

BRACTEATE COINS.—Previous to 1837 very few specimens of Bracteate coins had been discovered in Ireland. Bracteates have a raised type on one side only, the reverse showing a deep indent of the same type. They are very thin, and appear to have been struck by means of a punch, having the same type cut in relief as that sunk in the die, and into which the plate of silver was driven. Bracteate coins of this kind were struck in Switzerland and other parts of the Continent, between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, but none were known in the British Islands till the discovery of the coins in Ireland, of which the engravings 7, 8, 9, and 10, Plate 18, are specimens. It is possible that they were imported money, but archaeologists are in favour generally of the opinion that they are of Irish fabric. The reverse of these coins is not represented, being nothing more than the hollow form of the raised device on the obverse.

In 1837 a large hoard of coins of this kind was dug up at Fermoy. No intelligible legend is to be found on any of them, the place being occupied by a circle of straight strokes (before referred to) similar to those on other Irish coins. They appear to belong to the period from about the reign of Harold—of whose coins some of them appear to be copies—to the time of Stephen.

After the subjection of Ireland to the Anglo-Norman princes, in the reign of Henry II., the first coins that appear are those of John, who was created Lord of Ireland. The account of that coinage will, therefore, be resumed after the period of the Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland, from which time the coinages of the two countries will be described together.

No well authenticated Scottish coins are known belonging to this period: the earliest coins of that portion of Britain will therefore be described in a future chapter.

CHAPTER V.

COINS OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN KINGS.

FROM WILLIAM I. TO RICHARD III.

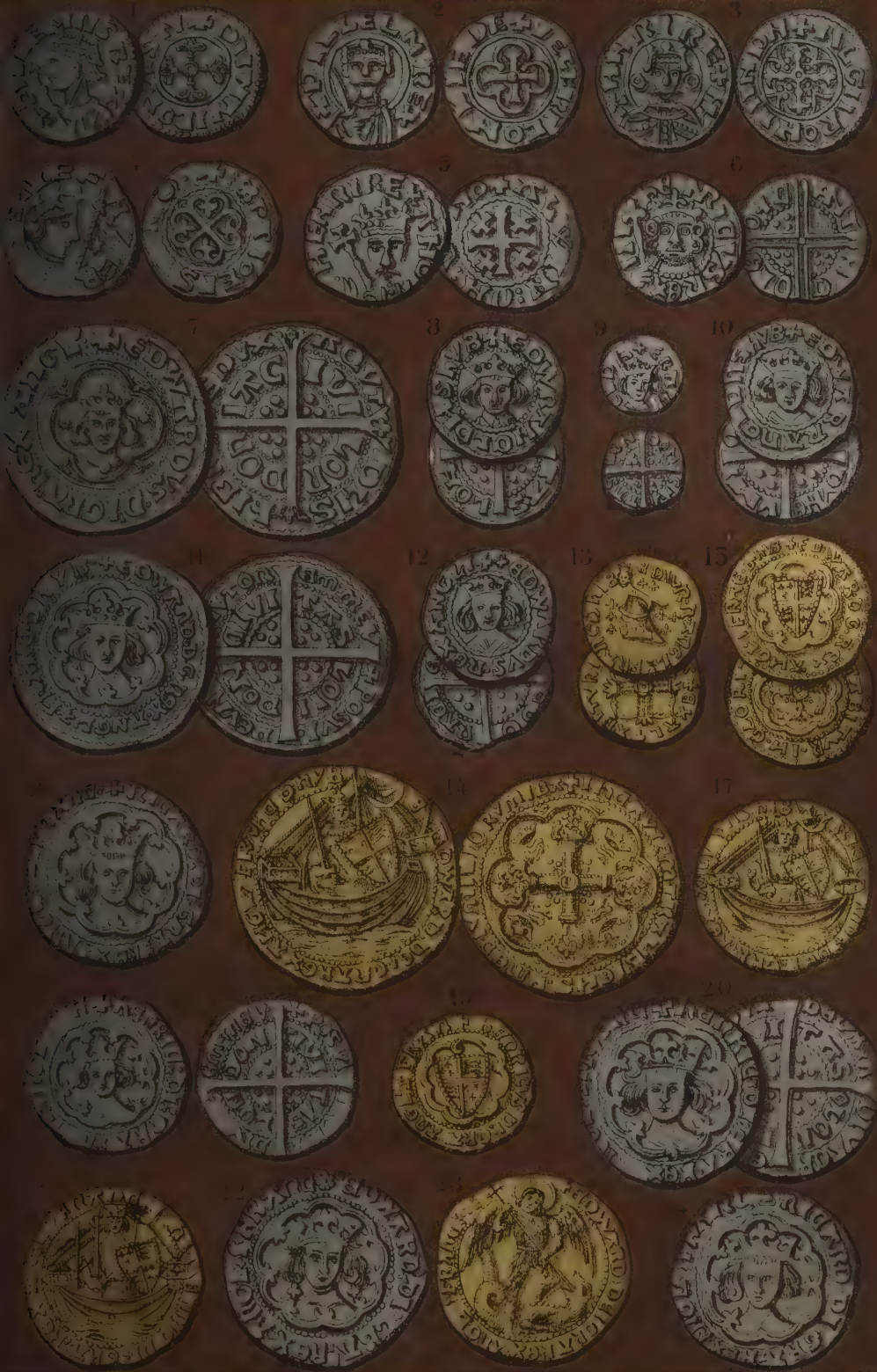
THE great political changes following the Norman conquest might be expected to produce great modifications in the coinage—probably by the introduction of gold coins, as used, though sparingly, by continental nations, especially in France and Spain. But such was not the case. The only changes made being those affecting *imaginary coins*, or rather denominations for certain sums, of which no positive coin existed, such as the *mancus*, by some supposed to be derived from *manucusum*—"coined money." It is also supposed that the *mancus* may possibly have been a positive Arabic coin, of gold, which found its way to Britain through Spain; but soon disappearing, and leaving only its name and value, as a means of defining larger sums than it was convenient to estimate by the small silver coin of the land. But the most favourite derivation at present is *manica*—"a bracelet," which would connect the term in a very natural manner with the old system of ring-money. The *mancus* expressed a value equal to thirty pennies, or six shillings of five pence, then the value of the shilling.

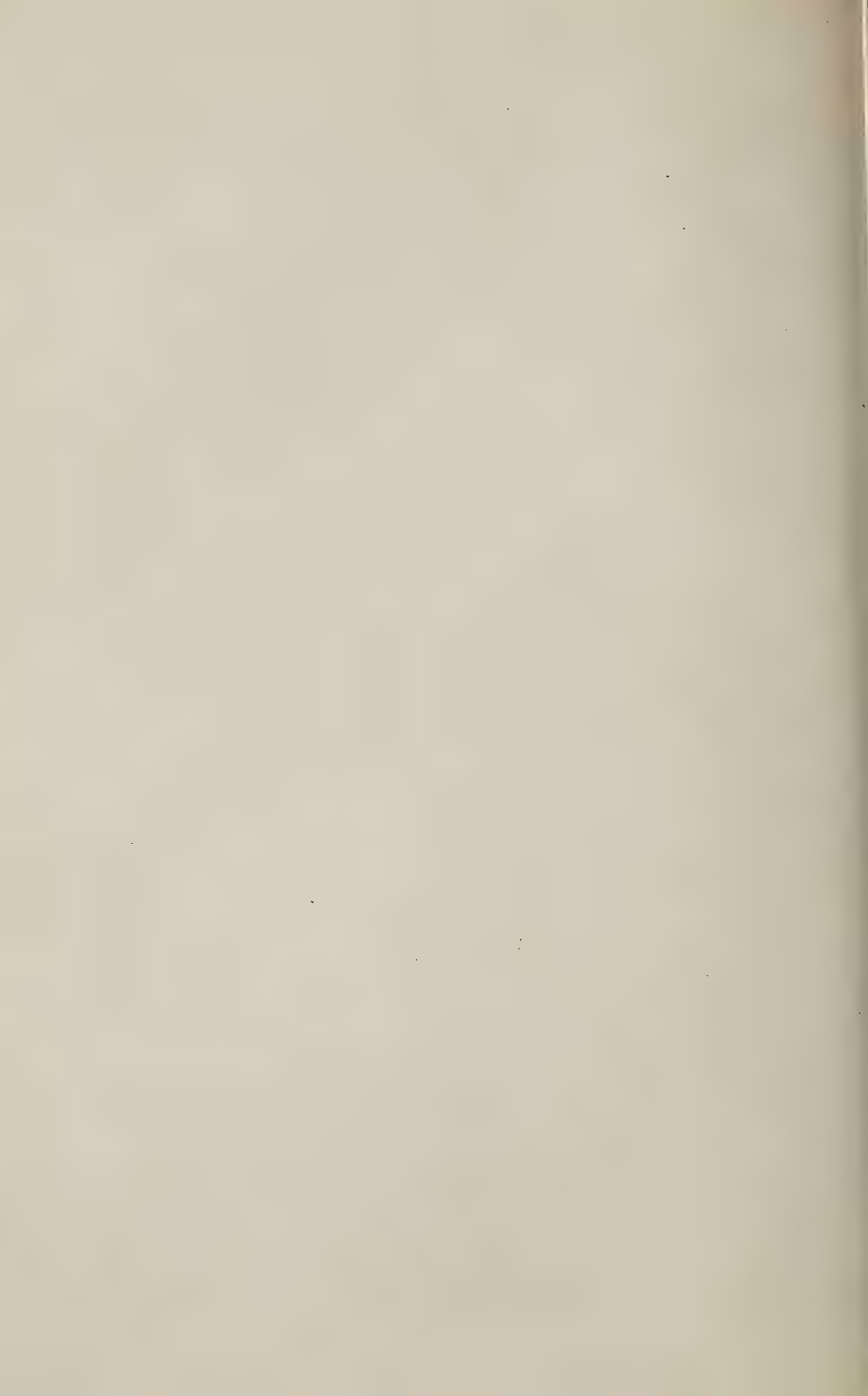
This Shilling—the Saxon Scil, or Scilling—was equally an imaginary coin. By this term the Saxons at one time intended five pennies, and at another four. William I. settled the Saxon Shilling at four pennies, but also established the Norman Shilling at twelve pennies; yet no positive coin of either value appeared till the reign of Henry VII., when the first Shilling of twelve pence was coined. The term "Shilling" has been favoured with many derivations; some trace it to the Latin "*sicilicus*," which signified a quarter of an ounce; others to a Saxon word meaning a scale or measure.

The "Mark" was a Danish term of computation, introduced about the time of Ælfred; it was then valued at 100 pennies, but, on the coming of the Normans, when their shilling of twelve pennies was introduced, the Mark was valued at 160 pennies.

The "Pound" was also what might be termed an imaginary coin, but referred principally to weight. The "Pounds" were of gold, or silver, and referred rather to a pound weight of those metals than to the amount of current coin that could be made from it; though up to the time of Edward III., as Stowe tells us, large sums were still paid by weight, the metal being merely "cut into blanks, and not stamped."

These *imaginary coins* are known as "moneys of account," and it was possibly to represent such imaginary sums, when larger than easily repre-





sented by current coin, that the Chinese invented their paper money, previously alluded to. "Sterling," or "Easterling," is another term early connected with our coinage, which soon became a name by which English money was distinguished on the Continent, Walter de Pinchbeck, a monk of St. Edmundsbury, in the time of Edward I., derives it from "Easterling," a name given to persons who periodically examined the mint and regulated the coinage—possibly at Easter; so that the term means, true money, according to the last examination; as, 100 pennies, or pounds, easterling, or sterling.* It would appear from Stowe that the Easterlings were first appointed to examine the coin in the reign of Henry II., from which period the pennies are first described as Easterlings.

With this short introduction, we may proceed to examine the actual coins of William the Conqueror and his immediate successors, which consist entirely of silver pennies; for, with the stycas of the Saxon era, copper entirely disappears for a long period. The derivation of the word penny has been before alluded to; but I shall here briefly return to the subject, to state that the Gaelic word *pen*—"the head," may have suggested the term pennine, or penning, which might have been adopted to distinguish money in the medallion form, which generally bore a portrait on the obverse, from the ancient ring-money. If this be allowed, it is easy to conceive that the term would be eventually applied, especially, to the coins which formed for several centuries almost the only national currency.

WILLIAM I.(A.D. 1066 to 1087). After the Conquest, and on the accession of William of Normandy, it might have been expected, as I have just suggested, that a great change would take place in the style of the coinage, seeing that the arts in general were in a much more forward state, at this period, on the Continent than in England. Yet no improvement took place, and the Saxon types were strictly adhered to, as well as the weight and standard.

There is much difficulty in assigning the coins (all silver pennies) of the first two Williams to their respective issuers; and as a great variety of types of each are known, it would be impossible, in the compass of this work, to point out all their different characteristics, with the reasons for attributing them to the one or the other William. Farthings and half-pennies, as under Edward the Confessor, were formed by cutting the pennies in two or four. The specimen No. 1, Plate 4, is an undoubted penny of William I. In "*Pilleme Rex*," the William is spelt with the Saxon P instead of W. Nearly all the coins till recently known of this reign were similar to the one engraved; but a specimen has recently been discovered in an old collection, with the head much larger, and turned the other way. The inscription sometimes reads *Pillemus*, and sometimes *Pillelmus*.

WILLIAM RUFUS (1087 to 1100). The specimen No. 2, Plate 4,

* Grimm, in his *Deutsche Mythologie*, has given us the derivation of Easter, from Bede, who states that April, in which Easter generally falls, was anciently called, by his countrymen, *Esturmonat* (Eastermonth), from the name of their goddess *Eastra*, whose festival occurred at that period of the year.

represents the king in full face, crowned, with PILLEM REX, as in the coins of his predecessor. The number of coins of these kings discovered together at Bearworth, in Hampshire, in 1833, exceeded 12,000; so that one or two of their types, which, before that time, were rare, have become amongst the most common of our early coins. Some of the coins of this reign are so round that it would seem that they must have been struck in a collar though that system did not prevail till several centuries later.

HENRY I. (1100 to 1135). It is on record that this king enacted especial regulations with regard to the coinage, but of what precise nature numismatists are not agreed. He, however, abolished the oppressive tax called moneyage, previously alluded to: and to prevent falsification of the coin, then become excessive, he enacted that, in addition to the loss of the right hand, the guilty party should suffer also loss of sight, and further mutilations. It is clear, however, from the evidence of the coins themselves, that, although this prince was surnamed "Beauclerk," from his learning and accomplishments, he did not interest himself greatly in the art bestowed upon his moneys, for they are certainly more rude than those of his immediate predecessors. It has been said that some little difficulty exists as to the distinction of the coins of the different Henrys; but, with the coins of the present king, that difficulty can only occur between those of his reign and those of Henry II. and Henry III.; and, in most instances, the difficulty does not appear very great, for the general features of the coins of Henry I. place them at once nearest to those of the two Williams. Another distinction appears to be, that the crown ornamented with the fleur-de-luce was not *generally* adopted till the reign of Stephen, and even then not perfectly defined; but in the next reign (Henry II.) it became much better developed, and in Henry III. nearly perfect; whilst on the coins of his son it assumed that complete and decisive design which continued on all the silver coins through a long succession of reigns, even to Henry VII. If I am right in this conjecture, some coins may be removed from Henry I. to Henry II. The specimen given,* No. 3, Plate 4, is much like some coins of Rufus; it has a front face, with a moustache on the upper lip. Some have the inscription HNRE EX I.; others, HENRI, and some HENRICUS. A ring on each side of the head is also a mark peculiar to the coins of this reign.

STEPHEN (1135 to 1154). It has been said that Stephen, and especially some of his barons (who during the civil wars of his reign assumed the privilege of coining money), debased the coin to a very great extent; and these charges are partially borne out by existing coins, although many of those struck by the king himself, or even by his barons, are of tolerably good weight and purity.

The specimen No. 4, Plate 4, is one of the most common of his coins: it shows the fleur-de-luced crown before spoken of, and has a flag instead of a sceptre, the legend being "Stifne Rex," which is, however, very variously spelt on different coins. A remarkable coin of his, struck at Derby, has

* These remarks may be exemplified by reference to Plate 4.

"Stephanus Rex." The head is peculiarly barbarous; but on the reverse the device (called the arms of the Confessor) is pretty well executed. Some have the name spelt "Steine."

There is a distinct class of coins belonging to this reign, which are generally termed the "Baronial coins:" they were struck by influential persons, who during the civil wars assumed the privilege of coining money bearing their own effigy. The most remarkable of these coins is that of Henry, Bishop of Winchester, the king's brother: it has the bishop's head, crowned, and accompanied by a crozier, with the legend "Henricus Epc." There are also coins supposed to be those of Robert of Gloucester, the illegitimate son of Henry I., which are the earliest examples of an English coin with a figure on horseback. They are rather expressively, though quaintly, executed; and have the legend "Robertus. St. t." The reverses of these coins much resemble those on the coins of the king; but are curious on account of the ornament between the letters of the legend. Coins are also known of Eustace, the son of Stephen, coined by him at York. Their type is a figure in a sort of mail armour, holding a sword, and wearing a conical helmet with the nose-piece. The legend is simply "Eustacius." The reverses always bear the name of the place of mintage—"Eboraci" (York), &c. Another coin of Eustace has what has been termed a "lion passant" to the right, which, if it be so, is very interesting, as an extremely early example of a true heraldic device on an English coin—the earliest well-known example of a device of that description being the quarter-florin of gold of Edward III., which has a helmet surmounted by a lion passant, guardant, the subsequent noble of the same reign having the royal arms complete. Other coins of this class have inscriptions which read "Wereric:" they are therefore attributed to Henry or (Roger) Newburgh, Earl of Warwick. These coins bear the names of several different towns, all, as it would seem, within the jurisdiction of the earls of Warwick of that epoch. Some have disputed the assertions of cotemporary writers, to the effect that the money issued without royal authority at this period was of debased metal and light weight, on the ground that no specimens of such base money have come down to us. But Mr. Rashleigh, in an article in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, appears to have little doubt that the coinage of the turbulent barons was base almost to worthlessness. Almost every castle had its private mint when this base money was manufactured; and he mentions several existing examples from a hoard found in Kent in 1825, of the attribution of which no reasonable doubt can exist, and of which he gives a long list. Many of the names, are, however, illegible from clumsiness of fabrication. In some cases the king's name, as STIEFNE, is combined with that of the issuer, doubtless with a view to give an appearance of royal authority; and places of mintage occur which are never found on the national coinage. One of the most interesting coins of this reign has on the obverse two full figures, formerly supposed to be Stephen and Henry, struck in commemoration of the treaty of peace concluded between them in 1153; but Mr. Hawkins considers the figures to be Stephen and Matilda his wife, struck

when she commanded the army by which his liberation was effected. These two figures, though rude, are yet interesting relics of such art as was bestowed upon the coinage of the period. I mention art as connected with the coinage, because the arts in general of this period, especially architecture, the art of illuminating books, and the goldsmith's art, as displayed in the chasing of rich reliquaries, were all in a flourishing state; and, indeed, the twelfth century may be considered the finest artistic epoch of the Middle Ages for grandeur, richness, and consistency of style, in merely decorative art. It seems extraordinary, therefore, that the artistic efforts of such a period should not have been extended to the coinage.

HENRY II. (1154 to 1189), on ascending the throne after the death of Stephen, found himself perhaps the most powerful monarch of Europe. He had previously inherited from his father, Touraine and Anjou; from his mother, Normandy and Maine. With his wife he received the great duchy of Aquitaine, comprising a large portion of the south-west of France. So that the extent of his territories in Europe, without conquest or aggression, was greater than that of any succeeding monarch, with the exception of Henry V. and VI., during the short and illusory conquest of France. His first coins were very badly executed, as appears by those found at Royston in 1721, and a large parcel (5,700) found at Tealby (Lincoln), in 1807, which were as fresh as if just issued from the mint. In a subsequent coinage he procured a foreign artist, Philip Aymary, of Tours, and the execution, though still not good, was much better than the first coinage. The portrait a full face, and the crown exhibits the fleur-de-luce pattern pretty perfectly defined. The first coinage has "Henri Rex Angl." variously abbreviated; the reverse is an ornamental cross, with crosses in the corners. The second coinage has the legend "Henricus Rex." The specimen No. 5. Plate 4, is one of the first coinage. Coins of this reign have been discovered bearing the moneyers' names Achetil and Lantier,—names which occur in the record called the "Chancellor's Roll," of the 11th Henry II., as moneyers at Wilton; which satisfactorily proves these coins to be of this reign, and not of Henry I. or III., and shows Ruding and Combe were right in the respective attributions of the coins of those sovereigns.

Henry II. also issued money in his extensive continental possessions, of similar character to that struck in England, but of superior style, so far as regards the execution of the legends. The *denier* of Aquitaine, a name derived from the Roman term *denarius*, was of the same weight and value as the English penny. (See Plate 5, No. 1). In this reign the conquest of Ireland took place; but no Anglo-Irish coins are known previous to the time of John.

RICHARD I. (1189 to 1199) and JOHN (1199 to 1216). Richard I., during a reign of ten years, only passed four months in England, and those were chiefly employed in oppression and extortion; whilst his rival, Philip Augustus of France, whose fame has been unfairly eclipsed by the barbaric valour of Richard, was busily employed in reforming the French coinage, which in his reign moved a good two centuries in advance of that of

England. He re-established the ancient gold coinage by some new pieces,* and the style of the silver was improved; while there are no English coins of the reign of Richard in existence; and possibly none were struck, though some of his continental pieces are known, describing him as Duke of Aquitaine, which bear also his title of King of England. Of his continental money, the *Denier* of Poictou, Plate 5, No. 2, will serve as an example.

Of the disgraceful reign of John we have some coins struck in Ireland, but no English ones are known, though records exist proving that coinages took place in his reign. He had, in his father's life, received the title of Lord of Ireland, and probably struck coins there under that authority, and subsequently as king, examples of both epochs being in existence. No. 11, Plate 18, is an example of his coins struck as *Dominus*; they have the inscription IOANNES. DOM. The halfpence of this coinage weigh $11\frac{1}{2}$ grains, and the farthings, first discovered in 1806, are half that weight. The farthings have for types, on the obverse, a lozenge, and on the reverse a large cross, having in the angles the letters forming the moneyer's name. (No. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$). No. 12, Plate 18, is an Irish penny, struck after John's accession to the crown: it reads, on the obverse, IOHANNES. REX. The first authentic notice of the coinage of this reign is in 1210, when John de Grey, Bishop of Norwich and Lord Justice of Ireland, caused pennies, halfpennies, and farthings to be coined of the English standard, which gave $22\frac{1}{2}$ grains to the penny. The triangle found on the Irish coins of John, Henry III., and Edward I., is supposed to be a symbol of the Trinity, the ancient arms of Trinity Priory in Ipswich being represented in a similar manner. In Ireland, it may have been used in allusion to the first English mint being established in the monastery of the Trinity in Dublin.

HENRY III. (1216 to 1272). His silver pennies have the king's head, in front face, and "Henricus Terce," or III., which distinguishes them from those of Henry II. The fleur-de-luced crown, too, has become more perfect, and only requires to be thrown into perspective, by lowering the flowers at the sides, and taking away their exterior leaves, to make it in all respects like the fully-developed crown of this style of the next reign. The specimen No. 6, Plate 4, has the king's head, a front face, bearded, with the crown, and also exhibits, for the first time, the waving hair which afterwards became general. The reverse has a cross botone (that is to say, with double limbs, each terminating in a pellet), and the old ornament of the three pellets is renewed in the angles,—a device which, with the exception of the cross being made simple, now became the type of all the silver money up to the reign of Henry VII., and did not finally disappear till the end of James I., 400 years after its re-adoption by Henry III. Nearly all the coins of the reigns recently described have still the moneyer's name and place of mintage on the reverse. Ruding supposes that this prince issued a coinage of halfpennies and farthings, which were afterwards recalled. It was in this reign that other small symbols began occasionally to occupy

* The authenticity of the gold coins attributed to Philip has, however, been disputed.

the place of the sign of the cross that occurs at the beginning or end of the chief legend. The sign used was a star, or a star between the horns of a crescent moon, like the modern badge of Turkey, which, in fact, is derived from that of the ancient Greek city of Byzantium, before it received from its re-founder the name of Constantinople. This badge was borne by Richard I., and it appears upon his great seals. He possibly assumed it on the capture of some Saracenic banner, of which it was the device; and it was on that account that it was adopted, first by John, and afterwards by Henry III., who forbade its use except by those of his own household.

Henry III. issued also a gold coinage, called gold pennies, which, however, circulated but a short time. At the top of Plate 21 is a specimen. It was very superior in style to his silver coins, having for type the king sitting on a throne ornamented with mosaic work. This coin has been engraved in the work of Folkes, and in other numismatic treatises; but in every case the engraving conveys the idea of a much finer coin than the real one. Ruding describes the gold issue of Henry III. as one called gold pennies, and weighing two sterlings, and being coined to pass for twenty pennies of silver; but that it afterwards passed for twenty-four, or two shillings of twelve pence. He says this piece, properly a royal, was the first of the sort coined in modern Europe; which, if the coins attributed to Philip Augustus are eventually assigned to another French sovereign of the same name, may be the case, as the famous florins of Florence were not issued till some time later.

Henry III. issued an Irish coinage similar to his second English coinage, the long double cross appearing on the reverse, and the legend *HERICUS REX III.* on the obverse, the *N* being frequently omitted. The reverse of this coinage has the moneyer's name and place of mintage. An example of this issue will be found No. 13, Plate 18;—a silver penny.

The coins of *EDWARD I.* (A.D. 1273 to 1307) exhibit the head of the king, designed, for the first time, in a style and manner (already indicated in those of Henry II.) that was to continue without alteration for eight successive reigns, including the commencement of that of Henry VII.; no difference being made in the face to suit the individual likeness of the respective sovereigns: it was, in fact, a merely conventional "king's head." The reverse finally adopted at the same time—the simple cross and pellets—continued, during the same period as the head, to be the only device on our silver coins, and remained in use on some of them even until the comparatively recent reign of James I.

The consequence of this similarity in the head has been the great difficulty experienced in accurately assigning the respective coins to kings of the same name—especially Edwards I., II., III.—as they have no numerals after the name. Numismatists have, nevertheless, suggested many ingenious methods of assigning the proper coins to each successive reign.

One of these means is afforded by the money struck at Durham by the bishops, whose personal mint-marks distinguish the coins of each. Bishop

Beck's, for instance (during the last twenty-four years of the reign of Edward I. and the first three of Edward II.), have a small cross moline for mint-mark; therefore his early coins, if they can be ascertained, are undoubtedly of the reign of Edward I. Bishop Kellow held the see from 1313 to 1316, in the reign of Edward II., and, therefore, all having his mint-mark—a small cross, with one limb bent in the form of a crosier—are undoubtedly of the reign of Edward II. Bishop Beaumont held the see during the last two years of Edward II. and the first three of Edward III., and his coins are marked with a lion rampant.

By comparing the coins of these prelates with other coins of the realm, which were precisely similar, with the exception of the mint-mark, an approximation to a proper separation of the coin of these three reigns may be arrived at; and this examination has suggested, as a general though not an unvarying rule, that the coins upon which the name is expressed by EDW. belong to Edward I.; that those with EDWARDVS at full belong to Edward III., and all intermediate modes of writing the name to Edward II.*

It is generally supposed that Edward I. coined the first groats, or four-penny pieces; if so, very few were put into circulation, and the specimen No. 7, Plate 4, if belonging to this reign, was certainly only a pattern, and not one of the current pieces, as the only specimens known of it vary so considerably in weight (from 80 to 138 grains) as to preclude the possibility of their having been current coins. It has the king's front face, or rather the front face of a king, crowned, with the perfect form of the fleur-de-luce crown, or *crown fleurie*, and the draperies at the neck fastened with a rosette. The whole bust is enclosed in a *quatre-foil* compartment, surrounded by the legend, EDWARDUS DI GRA REX. ANGL., for "Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ;" the reverse has an ornamented cross (*fleurie*) with the three pellets in the angles, extending to the edge of the coin. Immediately round the pellets are the words, "Londonia civi," for "Civitas;" and the exterior legend is, DNS HIBNE. DVX. AQVI, for "Dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ" (Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine). Some authors have ascribed these groats to Edward III., when the first extensive issue of coins of that size took place; and the name at full length seems somewhat to justify this view; but the drapery of the neck—while the neck is invariably bare on the groats of Edward III.—seems to favour the first hypothesis. It is the more probable that the groat was coined as an experiment in the reign of this great prince, as we know that a general re-coinage then took place, more extensive perhaps than any previous one; or than any that occurred again till the famous one in the reign of William and Mary. It was when Gregorie Rokesley, Mayor of London, was master of the king's exchanges or mints, as Stowe informs us, that this great re-coinage occurred.

The pennies of this reign (No. 8, Plate 4), have the head without the *quatre-foil* ornament, and the legend, EDW. R., or REX ANGL. DNS. HYB., for "Edwardus Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ;" the reverse of

* See Hawkins's *Silver Coins*.

the specimen has the cross and pellets, with "Civitas London;" some have "Villa," instead of "Civitas," as "Villa Berevvici" (Berwick).

Some of the pennies of this reign have the head in a triangle, like the Irish coins of John. Halfpennies and farthings are, for the first time, found pretty plentifully. The specimen No. 9, Plate 4, is a farthing, being of the same type as the penny, with the exception of the omission of the circle of beading round the head. These were the first farthings regularly coined. Up to this reign, it is supposed, as before mentioned, that halfpennies and farthings were often formed by cutting the pennies into two or four—an operation performed at the mint, coins having been found in quantities, so cut, that had evidently never been circulated.

The extensive coinage of this reign took place in several parts of the kingdom, the names of twelve or more different mints being known. On the coins struck at Reading, a mint-mark of scallop shells, the arms of the abbey, instead of the pellets, appears in the first quarter of the cross; and on those struck at St. Edmundsbury the name of the moneyer appears in its ancient form, for the last time on English money. It is that of Robert de Hadley, written either in Norman-French, as Robert de Hadeleie, or in Latin, as Robertus de Hadl., the surname being abbreviated. From an ancient record, dated 1279, it appears that at that time William de Turnmere was master of the London mint. It is from this reign also, as marking the extinction of moneyers' names, that we may date the commencement of their substitutes—the mint-marks. These were small objects generally introduced in the line of the legend,—a coronet, a crosier, an amulet, a bow, a fleur-de-luce, a sun, &c., &c., which were distinctive marks by which the mintage of certain years and certain moneyers were thenceforth known; and which will henceforward be frequently referred to.

As a specimen of the money coined by this prince in his continental possessions, I have engraved a penny of Aquitaine. (No. 3, Plate 5.)

Coins were struck in Ireland in this reign, under the government of Stephen de Fulborn, Bishop of Waterford, lord-deputy in 1279. Some of the Irish pennies are without the triangle, and some with. No. 14, Plate 18, is a penny without the triangle, the legend is EDW. R. ANGL. DNS. HIB.; the reverse has the usual cross and pellets, with "Civitas Dublin," which, in other specimens, stands "Dublini."

Many coinages took place in Ireland during the reigns of Edward I. and Edward III., as is shown by the various orders in council concerning the Irish coinage in both those reigns; but it is impossible to distinguish those of Edward III. from those of Edward I. Some of the coins attributed to the three Edwards indiscriminately, bear the inscriptions of other mints than Dublin—WATERFOR (Waterford), and CORCACIE (Cork).

THE COUNTERFEIT STERLINGS.

It was about this period that the high reputation of the English coinage for weight and purity led to its imitation by many small States

and petty princes of the Continent. The pieces thus imitated were termed counterfeit sterlings. This counterfeit money continued to be issued for a very considerable time; but I shall not refer to it again, as an account of all forgeries would lead me too far from the main object. The brief general account of the character of this imitative money given in this place must therefore suffice. On the obverse of these coins the name and title of the issuer generally occurred round a head which resembled any other monetary portrait; for they were, all over Europe, pretty much alike. The type of the reverse, however, was always closely copied from the cross and pellet of the English coins, and the accompanying inscription, though recording the real place of mintage, was arranged so as to look as like as possible to similar inscriptions on the English coins. As the great bulk of those among whom the coins circulated could not read, and could not certainly distinguish much difference between one rude monetary head and another, it was the English type of the cross and pellet that formed the authority upon which the coin was accepted as English. There are examples, however, in which more direct forgery is carried out, even the name of the king being copied, as well as that of an English place of mintage.

Among the counterfeit sterlings, the following may be cited as good examples. Those of Guido II., Bishop of Cambray, from 1296 to 1306, have, on the obverse, a full face, with a wreath of roses arranged much like the fleur-de-luces of the English crown, the inscription being GVIDO. EPISCOPVS.; on the reverse, the English cross and pellet, with CAMERACENSIS. Those of John, Count Hainault, from 1280 to 1304, and those of Arnold, Count of Loos, from 1280 to 1328, are of very similar character. Those of Guido, Count of Flanders and Marquis of Namur, have on the obverse G. COMES. FLANDIE.; and on the reverse, round the English cross and pellets, SIGNVM CRVCIS. Some of the counterfeits with names of kings of England on the obverse, and LOCENBGENSIS on the reverse, are supposed by Snelling to be the "Lushburgs" referred to in a penal statute of Edward III.

EDWARD II. (1307 to 1327). The coinage remained of the same weight and standard as in the previous reign. There is no record of a coinage of groats; but the penny (No. 10, Plate 4) has the same types as those of the preceding reign, and has for legend, EDWAR. R. ANG. DNS. HYB., and on the reverse, "Civitas London." No coins of the Anglo-Irish money have been assigned to this reign.

EDWARD III. (1327 to 1377). The silver coinage of this reign are groats and half-groats, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings. It will be seen that the title of King of France is assumed on groats of this king, and this, with other peculiarities, go to prove that the groat previously mentioned must either have been an essay or pattern made very early in the reign, before the assumption of that title, or, which is most probable, that it really belongs to the reign of Edward I. The groat of this reign (No 11, Plate 4) begins to exhibit, permanently, those characters of the art of the period

which had been first shown in the supposed groat of Edward I.; but in this and the succeeding reigns, the head is enclosed in a compartment formed of a tressure of nine small arches instead of four, terminating at their junction in a trefoil exactly in the same style of ornament as the architectural decorations of the time. It is a decoration, however, which, though new to the English coinage, had previously appeared on that of France. The words "Dei Gratia" were adopted for the first time on English coins in this reign; first on the gold coin, and afterwards on the groats. It had, however, appeared on the great seal, since William I., and on the coins of France, with more or less variation, since the time of Charlemagne, who seems to have adopted "Christianity" as his watchword; for on the reverse of his coins the words "*Christiana religio*" appear, and on others he was styled "*Karolus Augustus a Deo Coronatus*," &c. Some of his successors adopted "*Misericordia Dei*," &c.; but "Dei Gratia" became general on the French coins, eventually the settled form, and was adopted long before it was introduced in England.*

The legend on the groat of Edward III. stands, EDWARD D. G. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANCE. D. HYB., for "Edwardus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ et Franciæ, Dominus Hiberniæ;" the title of King of France having been assumed in 1389. The reverse of this groat of Edward III. has the plain cross extending to the edge of the coin, with the three pellets in the angles, and exhibiting, for the first time, the motto, "Posui Deum adiutorem meum" — "I have made God my help;" adopted very probably in allusion to his declaration, that with the "help of God" he would by force make good his claim to the throne of France. Slightly abbreviated, in an inner circle, is "Civitas London." The half-groat is the same, with the omission of "France" in the legend of the obverse. The coinages of some towns have their mint-mark in one angle of the cross, instead of the three pellets. There were half-groats similar to the groats. In reference to the general decrease of weight of the silver coinage in this reign, the chronicle of Walsingham states, "In the year 1351, William Edington being Bishop of Winchester and Treasurer of England, a wise man, but loving the king's commodity more than the wealth of the whole realm, and common people, caused a new coin, called a groat and a half-groat, to be coined and stamped; the groat to be taken for fourpence, and the half-groat for twopence, neither of them containing in weight according to the pence called easterlings, but much less, *to wit*, by five shillings in the pound, by reason whereof victuals and merchandise became the dearer through the whole realm."

The penny was reduced in this reign from the previous general average of about twenty-two or twenty-two and a half grains, to twenty and a quarter, then to twenty, and eventually to eighteen.† The specimen No.

* Folkes observes, speaking of the gold coins of Edward III., "'Dei Gratia' was now used for the first time; but there are, as stated, some previous examples in England, as well as the general previous use of it on the coins of France."

† Edward II. had previously coined forty-three out of the silver before used for forty.

12, Plate 4, is a silver penny, having the motto "Edwardus Rex Angli," and on the reverse "Civitas Eboraci" (York). The halfpence and farthings are similar to the pennies, but have the legends shortened for the space; some having only "Edwardus Rex;" some of the farthings have only E. R. ANGL. D. H. for "Edwardus. Rex. Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ."

The great feature in the coinage of this reign is the noble gold issue, said by English writers to be superior to any of the cotemporary gold coins of Europe. It may be considered our first gold coinage, as the attempt in the reign of Henry III. was too partial to take the first rank from the extensive and beautiful issue now effected. It was first determined, after much deliberation, that three moneys of gold were to be made, to be current at 6s., 3s., and 1s. 6d. The first was to have two leopards, the second a mantle, with the arms of England and France, and the small one, a helmet, &c.; being called florins, half-florins, and quarter-florins—a name derived from the celebrated gold coin of *Florence*, which had been copied in several parts of Europe, bequeathing the name of its parent city to many gold coins of other countries, after its original value and even its devices had disappeared. Edward III., in fact, adopted only the name, the devices and values being original and national. No. 13, Plate 4, exhibits the obverse and reverse of a quarter-florin. It was found that this first gold coinage was rated too high, and was therefore soon recalled; consequently, specimens are very rare.

Another gold coinage was then determined upon—the famous one of the Nobles. These coins were not named after a place of mintage, like some of the gold coins of other nations, but, as is supposed by an old writer, either after the *noble* metal of which they were composed, or from their superior execution, weight, and purity, in which they surpassed any gold coins of the period in Europe. This remark, however, can only apply to their weight and purity. The pieces were called nobles, half-nobles, and quarter-nobles, the nobles passing as 6s. 8d. It appears singular that they did not acquire their popular name from the ship forming part of their device, which was not in use on any other European coins; and any new and popular type was generally the means of giving its name to a coin, as will be noticed in another place. Some imagine that this device must, from its singularity, have been adopted in commemoration of the great naval victory of Midsummer Eve (1340), when two French admirals and thirty thousand men were slain, and two hundred and thirty of their large ships taken, with small loss on the part of the English. But the ship is the well-known Roman symbol of "the State;" and it seems possible that the king at the helm of the State may have been intended in this striking device—for striking it is, both in design and execution; and it is the first example of anything like the best cotemporaneous art being applied to the English coinage. There are other conjectures respecting this device too numerous to describe; one, however, as a very ancient one, may be mentioned, though evidently incorrect. Edward did not claim the sovereignty of the seas till

1359, fifteen years subsequent to the issue of these coins, and yet the old poet sings :*—

But King Edward made a siege royall,
And wonne the town, and in speciall
The sea was kept, and thereof he was lord;
Thus made he nobles coins of record.

The legend is, EDWARD DEI GRA. REX ANGLO., ET FRANCE, D. HYB.; the reverse a rich cross fleurie,† with lions under crowns in the angles; and the legend, IHS AUTEM TRANSIENS P. MEDIUM ILLORUM IBAT—"Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat." These words‡ had been used as a talisman of preservation in battle, and also against thieves. As a spell against thieves, says the learned editor of the *Canterbury Tales*, "it was the most serviceable, if not the most elegant, inscription that could be put upon gold coins." I give a specimen of the gold noble, No. 14, Plate 4; but there are other varieties, some having the title of "Duke of Aquitaine," after Ireland, and others a flag at the stern of the ship, bearing St. George's Cross; on others, struck after the Treaty of Bretigny, in 1360, when Edward renounced his claim to France, "France" is omitted in the titles.

The half nobles have the same type and legend on the obverse as the nobles; but the reverses have, in some cases, the motto, "Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me:" on one, which is in the British Museum, the sense of the motto, from the Sixth Psalm, is entirely changed by the accidental omission of the word "*ne*:" reading "Domine in furore tuo arguas me." Others have "Exaltabitur in gloria."§ No. 15, Plate 4, is a specimen of the quarter-noble, the types of which were distinct.

The first grand coinage of nobles proved so valuable that they were secretly exported for profit, and a lighter coinage was made, causing, however, some unreasonable discontent. The Commons afterwards petitioned for gold coins of the value of ten or twelve pennies; but there is no record of such an issue.

The types of our national coinage do not afford accurate indications of costume. The kings, from Edward I. to Henry VII., are without beards on their coins, while on their broad seals and monuments they are bearded. Folkes suggests that the king is represented as beardless, because supposed to be always in the prime of youth, and that the coins thus give rather the political than the true image of the sovereign. Ruding cites a singular evidence of this sort of feeling in the monuments of the children of Edward III. (Blanche and William), in Westminster Abbey, who, though they died in the earliest infancy, are represented as a knight and lady: princes had, it would seem, in feudal polity, no infancy and no old age.

* Selden, reign of Henry VI.

† Copied from the "ecus d'or," or "royal," of his rival, Philip of Valois, whose several gold coins were finely executed, especially the Florin George, where the figure is much finer than even that on the George Noble of Henry VIII., executed nearly two hundred years later.

‡ Luke, chap. iv., ver. 30.

§ Which some have supposed to be an allusion to his claim on the crown of France.

This period was marked by the first arbitrary interference with commerce, on the part of the legislature, that led to so much inconvenience and national loss in after-times, and from which we are but just emerging. The earliest measure of this kind arose from the state of the coinage. The French sovereigns had begun, earlier than the English, the system of debasing the coin—a circumstance to which a French writer (Le Blanc) attributes the loss of the battles of Cressy and Poitiers, in consequence of the lords and knights not being able to equip themselves properly, as armourers and others refused the base money. Be this as it may, it is certain that the fine gold coinage of Edward III. was rapidly finding its way to France through this state of things; to obviate which, he established the complicated system of staple towns (from the German word *stapelen*, to pile or heap), where only British merchandise could be sold to the foreign merchant, in the presence of a government commissioner, who compelled the foreigner, on the sale of his own merchandise, to spend whatever moneys he might have received, in the purchase of British products, then principally wool. This arrangement, and the protection to buyers and sellers which it professed, were somewhat similar to that of the great fairs on the Continent; but the scheme utterly failed in England, for the king was unable to protect the dealers from the robberies and oppressions of the neighbouring nobles.

The coins struck in France by Edward III., are of several values and denominations, the gold being much more finely executed than even our boasted nobles. The fine gold piece issued in Guienne, and known as the Guiennois, is a very splendid coin, of which an example will be found in Plate 5, No. 4. The king is represented in complete armour, on the obverse; and the reverse has an ornamental cross of very rich and graceful Gothic design, the legend being “Gloria in excelsis Deo,” &c.

The Leopard, so named from its device, is another gold coin issued by this sovereign in his continental possessions—it is represented in Plate 5, No. 4½. Examples of the silver and *billon* Anglo-Gallic coins of this sovereign will be found in the penny of Aquitaine, No. 5, Plate 5, and the Double Hardi of Aquitaine, No. 6, Plate 5.

EDWARD THE BLACK PRINCE, who was invested with the principality of Aquitaine during the life of his father, in his capacity of sovereign prince issued several coinages, some of the coins of which are remarkably beautiful. The gold piece, which was popularly known as the “Pavilion” (No. 7, Plate 5), from the Gothic canopy under which the prince is represented as standing, is a very beautiful coin, and the type is interesting on account of the detached ostrich feather in the “field”—so placed in commemoration of his having dislodged the helmet of the King of Bavaria at the battle of Cressy. Another Anglo-Gallic coin of the Black Prince is almost, if not quite, equal to the handsome “Pavilion.” It is known as the “Chaise,” from the throne or chair of state on which the prince is seated, in the type of the obverse. The reverse is a richly-designed Gothic cross, &c. It is represented in Plate 5, No. 8. Nos. 9 and 10, in the same Plate, are the obverse and reverse of

the groat of Bordeaux, coined by the Black Prince, and are interesting as exhibiting the very superior design of the continental coinages; for, while on the English silver of the period the unmeaning conventional crowned head formed the unvarying device, the continental coinages exhibited an endless variety of types. On the Bordeaux groats of the Black Prince the type of the obverse is a well-designed half-length figure of the prince holding the sword of Justice, and evidently intended as a portrait, though not a very complimentary one. No. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$, Plate 5, is a pattern for a new issue of the groats of Bordeaux in *billon*, or base metal—a kind of coinage which had become very general on the Continent, and the bad example of which was followed in Scotland—but never in England: the debased silver issued by Henry VIII. and his immediate predecessors being merely a fraudulent alloy of the silver, and not a systematic and open issue of *billon*, or black coin.

RICHARD II. (1377 to 1399). The silver coins of Richard (groats, half-groats, pennies, halfpence, and farthings) are so precisely similar to those of his grandfather, Edward III., that I only give one—a groat—as a specimen, No. 16, Plate 4. The motto is RICARD. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC. The reverse has the same legend as the preceding reign. His gold coins also are precisely similar to those of his predecessor; so that a half-noble will form a sufficient example: it is represented in Plate 4, No. 17. No Irish or Anglo-Gallic coins are known of this reign.

HENRY IV. (1399 to 1413). The coins of the four Henrys, who now succeeded each other, are very difficult to distinguish. These princes issued money of precisely the same types, without any mark of distinction, till Henry VII., in the eighteenth year of his reign, added the numerals “VII.” in the legend. There is, however, a tolerably secure guide for determining the pennies of Henry IV. In the early part of his reign they were of the weight of those of his two predecessors—namely, eighteen grains; but in the thirteenth year of his reign they were reduced to fifteen, and the other silver coins in proportion: any penny of eighteen grains, therefore, of the proper type, is pretty certainly of Henry IV. The early groats may be distinguished in a similar manner. Halfpence and farthings were also coined; but as their weight was never very carefully adjusted, it is difficult to separate those belonging to the first thirteen years of this reign. The specimen of his heavy money is a groat, No. 18, Plate 4; the legend is, HENRIC DI. GRA. REX ANGL. D. H.—the reverse as in preceding reign. His gold coins are nobles, half-nobles, and quarter-nobles, which do not differ from those of his predecessors, but may be distinguished from those of his successors, by the arms of France *Semé* of *fleurs-de-lis*, instead of being charged with three only, as was afterwards the custom. The specimen No. 19, Plate 4, is a quarter-noble. No coins appear to have been struck in Ireland in this reign nor in the continental possessions, which, since the premature death of the Black Prince, had nearly all fallen into the power of the King of France.

HENRY V. (1413 to 1422) and HENRY VI. (1422 to 1461). The coins of

these reigns, both of gold and silver, are tolerably plentiful; but most of them must be attributed to the very extensive coinage at the beginning of the reign of Henry VI. It appears extraordinary that the regent Bedford, whose taste for the fine arts is exhibited in the magnificently illuminated books executed for him, and of which several are in existence and in beautiful preservation, should not have attempted, in the plenitude of his vast power, which extended over both England and France, some further improvement in the style of the coinage. He did not, however, turn his taste for the arts in that direction, but followed exactly the old types. This appears the more extraordinary as the coins struck in France of this reign, after the king's coronation as sovereign of both countries, are quite equal to those of the previous and immediately succeeding kings of France; especially the "*Franc d'or*," having the king on horseback beautifully executed on the obverse. The silver pieces, too, struck in France, where the silver coinage had not been latterly much in advance of our own, were now improved; and on the "*grand blanc*" two shields appeared—the one bearing the arms of France, the other those of France and England—being nearly a century earlier than the adoption of the royal arms as a type on any English silver coins.

The English and Irish coins of both Henry V. and Henry VI. are, in most instances, quite undistinguishable, notwithstanding certain very ingenious numismatic suggestions for their separation. The only specimen of English silver I give is therefore a groat (No. 20, Plate 4), which, as it has a "V" after "Rex," may be assigned to Henry V. There were half-groats, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings of these two reigns. The gold coins are, as before, nobles, half-nobles, and gold farthings (or quarter-nobles). Those of Henry V. are scarcely distinguishable from those of his predecessor and successor. The specimen No. 21, Plate 4, is a half-noble. I have not engraved any gold of Henry VI., as he only coined angels during his short restoration, and they were imitations of those of Edward IV.

In the reign of Henry VI. the restrictions on the freedom of commerce, with the view of keeping the bullion in the country, were rendered still more stringent than in the previous reigns; the foreign merchant being compelled to *reside*, during his stay, with a person appointed, who took notes of all his bargains, causing him to outlay all moneys received, in British products, and whose salary consisted in a tax of 2*d.* in the pound upon all bargains so made.

No Irish coinage can with safety be attributed to Henry V.; but even if none were coined, little inconvenience was caused, as the greater proportion of the money in circulation in that country was of the English coinage—as proved by the hoard of pennies of Henry III., discovered at Bantry, in which, out of 702 pieces, only 83 were Irish, all the rest being of English mintage.

Of the 38th year of the reign of Henry VI., there is a document relating to the Irish coinage, in which it is ordered that a groat of forty-five grains be struck; also two coins of base metal, an *Irelande d'argent*, to pass for a

penny, and a Patrick, to stand for one-eighth of a penny. No specimens of the former have ever been found, and they were, perhaps, never issued; but of the latter, three have been recently found at Trim, and published, first by the Rev. Mr. Butler, and subsequently by Mr. Lindsay. No. 15, Plate 18, is one of these small base coins.

The Irish groat of this reign of the pattern with an open crown for principal type, is common; it is similar to that on the penny of Edward IV. (No. 17, Plate 18), but surrounded with a tressure of twelve arches, without legend, the reverse having the old cross and pellets, &c., &c. There are also groats attributed by some to this reign, with the same types as those of Edward IV. (No. 16, Plate 18); but they are most probably of Henry VII. There was subsequently a penny struck with the types of the groat with the crown, and no legend.

The last Irish coins of this reign are groats exactly similar to the English groats, but with CIVITAS DUBLINIE, or CIVITAS WATERFORD, in the inner circle of the reverse. (See English groat of Henry V., No. 20, Plate 4.)

The Anglo-Gallic coins of Henry V. and Henry VI. form a fine series of considerable variety, only the most striking of which can be described in a condensed work of this extent. The *Mouton d'or* (Nos. 11 and 12, Plate 5) is a fine gold coin of Henry V., issued by him as sovereign of both England and France. It received its name from the principal type, the lamb. Nos. 13 and 14, Plate 5, are the "Salute" of Henry VI., issued after his coronation at Paris. It received its popular name from the type of the obverse, the "salutation of the Virgin," very quaintly and beautifully executed, in the most pleasing style of Gothic art. It was one of the last of the fine series of Anglo-Gallic coins, as the reverses consequent on the premature death of Henry V. soon deprived the English of the whole of their continental possessions, except the solitary town of Calais.

EDWARD IV. (1461 to 1483). His silver coins are exactly like those of the several preceding reigns, with the exception, in some cases, of marks or letters on the field or breast. The specimen (a groat) No. 22, Plate 4, has a quatre-foil on each side of the neck, a crescent on the breast, and an annulet preceding, and a rose ending the legend, EDWARD DI. GRA. REX ANGL. Z. FRANC. The reverse, which I have not thought it necessary to give, has, as in the previous reigns, "Posui," &c. The weight of the penny was reduced, after A.D. 1471, to twelve grains. A great variety of his coins of different mints exist, but all of one type, only varying in mint-marks and names of places of mintage. The reduction of the weight of the silver coins caused great dissatisfaction. Stowe says, he made silver money of only threepence to the groat, and so of other coins after that rate, to the great horror of the commons.

The gold coinage of this reign, on account of several changes that took place, is more interesting than any since Edward III.

The first issue established the nobles to pass at 8s. 4d.; by which it will easily be perceived that the value of the precious metals was now rapidly

rising, and that less gold and silver were put into coins, the nominal value of which remained the same; or, as in the case of the nobles above mentioned, the nominal value of the coin was increased in accordance with the raised price of the metal.

In another coinage, an increased price was given for bullion at the mint, to insure a supply, for it had become scarce; and the weak king had recourse, about 1455, to the assistance of the alchemists, announcing, with confidence, that he soon should be able to pay his debts with gold and silver produced by "the stone." The additional price offered at the mint, however, procured gold faster than "the stone," and a new issue of nobles took place, fifty being made out of the pound weight. Shortly afterwards this proportion was changed, and only forty-five were coined out of the pound weight; but they were to pass for 10s., and to be called *rials*, to distinguish them from the old nobles—a name borrowed from the French, who had coins called rials (royals), in consequence of their bearing the effigy of the king in his royal robes. In the case of the English coins, the name was less applicable, as they bore the same device, or nearly so, as the old nobles.

The angels and half-angels were new gold coins, so called from their device, the archangel Michael piercing a dragon with a spear. The reverse had a ship, with a large cross for the mast; the letter E on the right side, and a rose on the left; against the ship, a shield with the usual arms, as in the specimen No. 23, Plate 4. The motto on the reverse of the half-angel was, O CRUX AVE SPES UNICA. This coin was probably intended to replace the old noble, superseded by the rial. The nobles and rials differed but slightly from the nobles of previous reigns, with the exception of having the central portion of the cross-fleurie of the reverse replaced by a sun, the badge of the king. This recognizance was assumed, as we are told by a chronicler, after his victory at Mortimer's Cross; on which occasion it is said that an appearance of three suns was observed, which Edward interpreted as an omen of victory. Another "object," similar in form to a sun, but, as it has been said, evidently not a sun, is found on some other of his coins. On his great seal, and other seals, it alternates very conspicuously with "roses."

The reason stated for not believing this "object" to be a sun is, that the rays have more the appearance of *petals*, turning up at the ends, &c. I believe this difficulty to be susceptible of very simple explanation. When the sun had to be represented in conjunction with the rose, which was the badge of Yorkists, the figure of the sun was symbolized by a "sun-flower," which, as a floral emblem, accorded better with its companion symbol, the rose. This apparently was a fancy of some of the superior engravers of the mint, or of those entrusted with the making of royal seals, but was not constantly adopted. It may be urged that, according to botanists, the sun-flower was not *introduced* till 1596 to ordinary garden collections in this country; but that, as a native of the south of Europe, it should have been *unknown* in England in the reign of Edward IV. is very unlikely. It is well known that the sun type of some of the gold of Edward IV., afterwards adopted on the coinage of other reigns, was done with so

little character, that it was taken for the rowel of a spur, and pieces bearing it were termed spur rials, &c.

The reduction of the weight and increased alloy of the gold coinage, when the Lord Hastings was master of the mint, is greatly condemned in cotemporary records. Still further encroachments were perpetrated in this reign against the liberty of both the foreign and British merchant, principally with a view to prevent the exportation of coin.

The changes effected in the Irish coinage in this reign are somewhat remarkable. In the first place, it was enacted that a *maile* and *quadrant* of silver should be made in the Castle of Dublin of the same type as the new *denier*; these were continental terms, more frequently applied to the Irish coinage than to the English. The terms *maile* and *quadrant* refer to the silver halfpence and farthings, of the types of the foreign penny, or denier. Soon afterwards a base coin, four to go to the penny, was ordered to be struck in Ireland, but none have been found. In the third year of this reign groats were struck of the same type as those of Henry VI., with the crown without legend. These coins have a tressure of seven arches instead of twelve, as in those of Henry VI. Pennies of the same type were also issued (No. 17, Plate 18), as well as brass Patricks similar to those of Henry VI., eight to the penny: also a new brass coin, having a bishop's head, and the legend PATRICK on the obverse, and on the reverse the word SALVATOR. This coin was to go for one penny. No examples of this coin were known till Mr. Butler published an engraving of one lately discovered at Trim.

There are also Irish groats of this reign very similar to the English groat, only having the title, DOMINUS HIBERNIE, on the obverse, in addition to the name, and on the reverse, CIVITAS DUBLINIE, in the inner circle. (See English groat, Plate 4, No. 22.) These coins were also struck at Waterford, Limerick, and Trim; but of the two last-named places none have been found. The most remarkable coinage of Irish groats was one with a new type, having a cross on one side and a sun on the other, and with which were issued pennies, with a rose on one side and a cross on the other; but no Act has been found referring to such an issue.

Another new coinage, that referred to in Act 7, Edward IV., consists of groats, half-groats, and pence, having the head in the style of the English groats on one side, and the radiated sun, the favourite device of this prince, for the reverse, similar to that found on his English rials, which have in consequence been termed *spur* rials. Coins of this type were ordered to be made at several mints, but only those of Dublin are known. Many false coins were made in this reign, by persons pretending to hold letters-patent, and others, against all of whom bills of attainder were issued. The king's master of the mint, Geronym Lynch, was also attainted for making light coin, but subsequently pardoned, and reinstated in his offices.*

There were also several Irish coinages in this reign, of groats, &c.,

* Mr. Butler, *Numismatic Journal*.

of precisely the English types, differing only in the titles and the names of the places of mintage; but the last coinage of the reign was of entirely new device, and of a national character, having on the reverse the arms of Ireland, "three crowns" in a cross, in pale, and on the obverse the arms of England and France, quarterly, on a shield, separated by a similar cross, extending to the edge of the coin. No. 16, Plate 18, is a groat of this coinage, which is remarkable, as an example of placing a true heraldic shield of arms on the silver coinage of Ireland before it had appeared on that of England. On the obverse, the legend is, REX. ANGLIE. FRANCIE., without the king's name; and on the reverse, DOMINVS. HIBERNIE., also without the king's name.

A variation of this type, differing in having the addition of the king's name, and the name of the city of Dublin, and an interesting variety bearing the arms of the Earls of Kildare on each side of the arms of England and France, have recently been discovered. This is probably the mint-mark of coins struck by that family, as chiefs of one of the Irish mints. There are several other varieties of this type.

Towards the close of this reign a small brass coin appears to have been struck, of which there is no record. It must have been of the value of the Patrick—eight to the penny—and has three small crowns on a shield on the obverse, with a rose and sun in the centre of a long cross for reverse, with the usual legend. (See Plate 18, No. 18.)

The brass coins here alluded to in this reign are analogous to the base money of the Continent, and of Scotland, known as "black money."

The Irish coinage became lighter than the English at this period, and continued to do so to a greater extent in the subsequent reigns.

EDWARD V. Till quite recently no coins were attributed to the infant son and ephemeral successor of Edward IV. Indeed, in his brief and nominal reign, from the 9th of April, 1483, to the 22d of July, in the same year, it was thought probable that no new coinage was issued. Mr. Sainthill, however, has shown, in a very interesting paper on the subject, (full of interesting details), that the Duke of Gloucester, as protector of the realm in that disturbed period, required, in all probability, an immediate supply of money, and that, to meet the necessity, money was, in fact, coined in the Tower during the first half of the year 1483. Mr. Sainthill also states that the mint-marks used on the coins of Richard III., after he became king, were his own crest, the boar's head, on the obverse; and on the reverse a half sun and half rose united. These marks, which do not occur on the coins of any previous reign, Mr. Sainthill has detected on coins bearing the name of Edward, and precisely resembling in other respects those of Edward IV. These, therefore, with every probability of being correct in his attribution, Mr. Sainthill assigns to the short reign of the infant Edward V., struck under the immediate authority of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, in his office of protector of the realm. The evidence of the mint-marks seems, in fact, conclusive, so that a lapse in the series of coins illustrative of the reign of the Plantagenet princes appears to be satisfactorily filled up.

RICHARD III. (1483 to 1485). In the two years of his brief but energetic reign, he contrived to issue a considerable coinage; but his coins are, nevertheless, more or less rare. Their type is precisely similar to those of his predecessors, and the proportion of 12 grains to the penny was the standard of weight. The specimen No. 24, Plate 4, is the obverse of a groat, having RICARD. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FRANC., with his crest (the boar's head) for the London mint-mark. The reverse of the groat had, as before, the motto, POSUI, &c., but with the new mint-marks of the half sun and half rose united. He issued groats, half-groats, pennies, and halfpence; but no farthings have yet been found. His gold coins are precisely similar to those of Edward IV.; it is, therefore, unnecessary to give a specimen; the angelets, or half-angels, have sometimes the mint-mark of a boar's head, like the groat.

The only Irish coins of Richard III. are of the same type as those of the English coinage, except as to the names of the places of mintage.



CHAPTER VI.

COINS OF THE ENGLISH SOVEREIGNS.

FROM HENRY VII. TO EDWARD VI.

HENRY VII. (from 1485 to 1509). The groats, pennies, &c., of the first portion of this reign continued the same as in the previous one, and have all, till recently, been confounded with those of Henry VI. The sagacious ingenuity of a numismatist,* by referring carefully to the episcopal mint-marks, has at last solved the difficulty, by discovering on a York penny the marks of Thomas Rotherham, archbishop, who did not possess the see of York till 1480, while Henry VI. died in 1461: these marks are, a "T." on one side of the neck, and a key on the other. The pennies with that mark are, therefore, indubitably those of Henry VII. Specimen No. 1, Plate 6, is a groat, now in the British Museum, which, though without the marks alluded to, has, from its close resemblance to those with the marks, also been assigned to Henry VII. The reverse is exactly similar to those of previous reigns. The weight is 48 grains; and as the pennies of Henry VI. were only reduced to twelve grains during the short period of his restoration, it is very improbable that all the groats corresponding to that weight should belong to that period; and on that account also this coin has been assigned to Henry VII.

In the second style of coinage of this reign, the design of the crown is changed from the open crown of fleur-de-lis, of his own previous coins, and of those of so many of his predecessors, to an arched crown, sometimes called an imperial crown. It has also been stated that there is some attempt at a portrait in the full face; but this I am not able to discover. This coinage is of course easily distinguished from those of the previous reigns. The specimen No. 2, Plate 6, is a groat of the new type; it has the usual motto, but the tressure is enriched with small roses in the angles or spandrels. The reverse, however, is precisely as before.

Other groats of this period vary in the number and richness of the tressures which surround the head, and also in the style of the crown, though always arched. The reverses still continued to be of the old type.

Specimen 3, Plate 6, is a penny, having the arched crown; in the motto France is omitted. The reverses also still continued the old type, or nearly so. Folkes mentions a piece of this period, which appears to have been a trial pattern for a twenty-penny piece.

* Mr. Cuff.

The eighteenth year of this reign (1503) was marked by an entirely new coinage, in which the silver coins, for the first time, received some attention as to their artistic execution; a positive portrait in profile being attempted, and in fact very fairly executed. The shield with the royal arms was now first adopted for the reverse; and, in short, the model, of which the types of the coinage of our own times have been but modifications, was now first adopted.

This was the most florid and decorative period of mediæval art; the English version of (so-termed) *Gothic* art, had attained its highest degree of complication and perhaps over-loaded richness, as exhibited in this king's celebrated chapel at Westminster; while in France, at a somewhat earlier period, it had taken a similar direction, but towards a still more overwrought character, combined, however, with greater boldness, which has earned for it, in architecture, the title of *Gothique flamboyant*. Other arts, besides that of architecture, were rapidly assuming, if I may use the term, an intensely decorative character, especially those of the goldsmith, and of the book decorator or illuminator, which latter art now reached its zenith; and we must not overlook the intricate monuments of iron-work of the celebrated blacksmith of Antwerp. It is not so surprising, therefore, that a change at last took place in the style of the coinage, as that it did not take place before; and that, when it did, it was not still more in the rich, highly-wrought style of the general art of the period.

We know by the great seals of the respective monarchs, at all events since Edward III., that there were artists at command who could design and execute intricate models suited to coins—such as the sovereign in regal robes, sitting beneath a rich canopy, surrounded by the emblems of state; and on the Continent such devices had long been placed upon coins; but it was not till this reign that in England anything like the rich device of the great seals was transferred to the coinage. Such a design now first appeared on the principal gold coin of this reign—a large piece called the “sovereign.”

The shilling was the most remarkable feature in the new silver coinage now issued, this main feature of our present silver coinage being coined for the first time in the 18th year of the reign of Henry VII. The shilling thus became, at last, a form as well as name; for, as has been stated, the term *shilling* had long been in use as “money of account,” though no real coin of that value or name was in existence. Of groats, half-groats, and pennies (but no halfpennies or farthings), there was also an issue in the new coinage of 1503. No. 4, Plate 6, is a specimen of the shilling; the legend is, HENRIC. VII. DI. GRA. REX. ANGL. Z. FR. This is the first instance of the use of numerals after the name since Henry III., whose coins are a nearly solitary instance of its occurrence in the earlier periods. Sometimes this coinage has SEPT., SEPTIM., or SEPTIMUS, instead of VII. The half-groats of this issue exactly resembled the groat and shillings, except in the absence of the numerals or SEPT. after the name.

Some of the pennies have the king seated on a throne, as on the gold double rials or sovereigns, with simply HENRIC. DI. GRA. REX.—the

reverse having the arms, &c. The pennies issued with this device are of the ecclesiastical mints; principally Durham, with the initials of Dunelmensis and Sherwood, the bishop, and, on the reverse, the upper limb of the cross turned into a crosier.

The name of the place of mintage was omitted in the third coinage of this reign, in the inner circle of the reverses of the shilling, groats, and half-groats, but continued as the legend on the reverses of the smaller pieces.

The great feature of the gold coinage of this reign was the issue of the double rial (or royal),—twenty-two and a-half such pieces to be coined out of the pound weight tower. On this piece the king is represented in the royal robes, as on the *rials* of France, and it might thus receive the name more legitimately than those of Edward IV.; but to distinguish it from the previous rial, it was determined to call it a “sovereign”—a term which disappeared after a few reigns, not to be again adopted till the great new coinage of George III., in 1817. The title on the obverse is HENRICUS. DEI. GRACIA. REX. ANGLIE. ET. FRANCIE. DNS. IBAR. (Specimen No. 5, Plate 6.) Some have Hibn. instead of Ibar. On the reverse of this piece the last trace of the old cross-fleurie of the nobles of Edward III. disappears, and a tressure of ten arches encloses an heraldic figure of the full-blown rose, in the centre of which is placed a shield with the arms. Leake has observed that this device of the single full-blown rose was adopted to show the union of the houses of York and Lancaster. In painted devices, where colour could be used with effect, the full-blown rose, when used as a symbol of the union of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, was divided by an imaginary line into four sections, the alternate quarters being red and white. There is a mint-mark on some of the coins of this reign, which is generally considered to have a similar reference to the union of the houses of York and Lancaster by the marriage of Henry VII. with Elizabeth of York. This mark consists in the junction of a fleur-de-lis, or rather lily, with a rose; the red rose being more strictly the badge of the house of York, while the Lancastrians, instead of their badge of the white rose, frequently adopted that more distinct emblem of white (as opposed to red), which is furnished by the lily. These mint-marks, though exceedingly small, as having to run in the line of the legend, are yet very distinct, and the lily above the rose, or lily growing out of the rose, are easily recognizable. The greyhound, which is also one of the mint-marks of this reign, is said to have been used as the badge of his great grandfather, John de Beaufort, Earl of Somerset. The portcullis, another favourite badge of Henry VII., and which is so conspicuous in the ornamentation of the celebrated chapel which he erected at the east end of Westminster Abbey, was not adopted as a mint-mark till the following reign. It was, like the greyhound, derived from the Beauforts, who, on the appointment of an additional poursuivant, gave him the name of “Portcullis.” There are other varieties of this reverse, some having the shield surmounted by a crown, in which case the rose occupies the whole field, to the exclusion of the tressures; in

another case, the rose, though larger than in our specimen, is somewhat less than the last mentioned, and differently arranged. Specimens of the half-sovereign, better known as the rose rial, are peculiar, from having only the arms of France. The obverse of these coins have the king in a ship, with two flags, one bearing the letter "H," and the other the English dragon. The angel and half-angel differed little from those of Edward IV.

The avarice of the king having caused much light money to be made, and many pieces also being clipped, great complaints arose, which were silenced in a rather summary manner; for it was therefore enacted that no person should refuse the king's coin, if good gold and silver, on account of thinness or smallness of size, on pain of imprisonment or *death*. By the year 1509 he had, through this mode of working the coinage, and by imposing extravagant fines and other extortions, collected greater riches than had ever before been possessed by an English king; and the last of the stringent commercial regulations respecting the bullion and the "royal exchangers" was passed in this reign. The royal exchangers were persons through whose hands all bills of exchange were compelled to pass for adjustment; and they enjoyed a very lucrative monopoly.

Though no official documents relating to the Irish coinage of Henry VII. have been discovered, it is evident, from the large number of specimens in existence, which can only be attributed to this reign, that a considerable quantity of coin was struck by him in Ireland.

The groats of the type of Edward IV., with the three crowns, are sometimes attributed to Henry VI., but are generally thought to belong to the reign of Henry VII.

I have stated that no Irish coins of distinct types can be with certainty attributed to Richard III. and Henry VII., and probably but few were issued. The Irish groats of these reigns are of the English type, with the conventional king's head. The Irish coins evidently belonging to the reign of Henry VII., consist, therefore, of groats and half-groats (the pennies being very rare), of the two varieties of the English type—that with the head wearing the old or flat crown, and that with the head wearing the arched crown. The style of these coins may be known by reference to the English specimens (Nos. 1 and 2, Plate 6), from which they differed little, except in having an Irish place of mintage on the reverse, CIVITAS DUBLINIE, those of no other Irish mint having been discovered of this reign; they are also lighter than the English coin.

The groats, half-groats, and pennies, attributed to this reign, with the types of Edward IV., the arms of England on the obverse, and those of Ireland (the three crowns) on the reverse, are, as above remarked, doubtful.

The groats issued by the pretender, Parkin Warbeck, are supposed to have been struck for him by the Duchess of Burgundy: they have the arms of England on a crowned shield for obverse, with the motto, DOMINE. SALVUM. FAC. REGEM—"God save the king," and on the reverse the curiously-selected motto, MANI TECHEL PHARES, and the date 1478.

(See Plate 5, Nos. 15 and 16.) No royal coin of the English series exhibits a date up to this period.

HENRY VIII. (1509 to 1547). The silver coinage of Henry VIII. may be divided into five classes: the first exactly resembles the third coinage of his father, even the head being the same; the numerals alone being altered from "VII." to "VIII." The farthings of this coinage are very rare.

Folkes has engraved a large silver piece of Henry VIII., which he calls a quadruple testoon, which in the Pembroke collection appears to have been called a silver crown. It is, however, crossed out in the manuscript catalogue of that celebrated cabinet.

The second coinage has a likeness of the king in profile, which may easily be distinguished, as he appears both younger and fatter than his father; the reverse remaining the same. The half-groats are similar; but those of York have Wolsey's initials, and the cardinal's hat on the reverse. The pennies have the king on the throne, with the motto ROSA SINE SPINA. The halfpennies have still the old "cross and pellets;" and the farthings, like those of his first coinage, have the portcullis, which appears for the first time on the coins in this reign. There are other varieties of the coinage of this epoch, but more rare.

In the third coinage of this reign the weight of the penny was reduced to ten grains, and that of other silver coins in proportion, a great increase of alloy (two ounces in twelve) being used. This already great amount of alloy was increased, in the base issues which followed, to eight ounces of alloy to only four of silver. The execution of this coinage—which consisted of shillings, pence and halfpence, groats and half-groats—was rather bold and striking, though still without any high relief. The portrait of the king is, for the first time, a three-quarter face, and an excellent likeness, especially on the shillings, or testoons, as they were named; the reverses of which bore for type a large crowned rose—a very handsome device, with the old motto, POSUI, &c., which was still preserved. The groats and smaller pieces have the reverses of last reign, the halfpennies still exhibiting the ancient type of the cross and pellets.

The types continued the same on the fourth coinage; but an infamous degree of debasement took place;* the pennies being of the same weight (ten grains), but the alloy increased to the amount of half alloy to half silver. The fifth coinage, in the following year, was still more debased, and the motto on the groats was changed to REDDE CUIQUE QUOD SUUM EST; seeming like a satirical joke upon the fraud thus committed on the public, but probably not so intended. The silvering soon wore off the nose, leaving the copper bright and red, from which circumstance the king received, from some of his faithful subjects, the sobriquet of "Old Copper Nose." A bag containing a number of these base groats of the fourth coinage has recently

* These base coins, having the nearly full face of the king, soon began to show the inferior metal at the end of the nose, the most prominent part; and hence the sobriquet, "Old Copper Nose," which the king received in reference to this base coinage.

come to light in a rather singular manner. On the 28th of February, in the present year (1860), a hurricane of unusual violence visited the coast of Norfolk, carrying away some hundreds of tons of sand at Yarmouth, near to the Star battery. The next day, a man collecting stones of the kind sent to Newcastle for the glass manufacture, turned over something heavy, which had the appearance of a leathern bag, but which became dust as soon as moved. Its contents becoming thus exposed, turned out to be seventy-five of the base groats just described. I am indebted to W. R. Fisher, Esq., for the account of this "find," and for a sight of one of the coins, which was purchased of the finder. Whether the coins had been concealed where they were found, or whether washed up from a wreck, and buried in the sand, it is impossible to conjecture.

The specimen No. 7, Plate 6, is a shilling or testoon of the third coinage, with the full face, an excellent likeness, in the ordinary dress of the time, but wearing the crown, with the legend, HENRIC. 8 D. G. ANGL. FRANC. Z. HIB. REX. The reverse (No. 8) has a well-executed rose and crown, with "H. R." crowned, and the old motto, POSUI, &c. It is supposed that the testoon was so named from a French coin of similar value, which, on first receiving the impression of a portrait *head*, was called a *teste-on*. This term did not continue long attached to the English coin, and the old national term, shilling, soon resumed its place. The groats and half-groats were similar, but with the faces not quite so full.

The specimen No. 6, Plate 6, is a York half-groat of the second coinage, with the initials of Wolsey "T. W." and the cardinal's hat. Nos. 11 and 12, Plate 6, are the obverse and reverse of a farthing of the portcullis type.

The initials and hat of Wolsey on these coins were mentioned among the frivolous charges brought against him on his fall. The passage is cited by Lord Coke:—"Also the said Lord Cardinal, of his further pompous and presumptuous mind, hath enterprised to join and imprint the cardinal's hat under your arms in your coin of groats, made at your city of York, which like deed hath not been seen to have been done by any subject within your realm before this time." It is very true that a cardinal's hat had not been used before as a mint-mark, but only because the previous bishops of York were not cardinals; such badges as they were entitled to, both of family arms and ecclesiastical title, having been commonly used before—as the crosier, the mitre, &c., &c.; by which it will be seen that this charge was frivolous and ridiculous; but his fall being resolved on, such charges, or less, under a comparative despotism, would have been all-sufficient. Nos. 9 and 10 are the obverse and reverse of a halfpenny of the third coinage.

During his temporary conquests in France, this sovereign coined money at Tournay. The issue consisted of silver groats, which are classed with the Anglo-Gallic coinage of the English sovereigns. (Specimen Nos. 17 and 18, Plate 5.) They have the date 1511, though no date had as yet appeared on our national coinage; and though dates had been placed on the coins of

petty continental principalities for nearly a century, those of the bishops of Cambray being, perhaps, the earliest known.

The gold coins issued during this reign display the quaint characteristics of the German art of the period, which, through Albert Dürer, Lucas von Leyden, &c., influenced the whole of the north central portion of Europe. This taste was more firmly established in England by Holbein, and may be especially traced on our national coinage in the angular folds of the king's robes on the obverse of the "sovereign." But Holbein having been invited to the English court, where he greatly influenced the art of the goldsmith as well as that of the painter, it becomes the more surprising, therefore, that artists of first-rate excellence were not sought out to engrave the dies for our national coinage, especially as it must have been well known that the celebrated Benvenuto Cellini was employed in the Florentine mint (between 1523 and 1537) with such remarkable results. The coins from dies engraved by this great artist are equal to some of the exquisite Italian medals of this period; and his portraits of the Medici on the Florentine money now in fact rank as medals, especially those of the Duke Alexander and Clement VII., which are preserved for their rare artistic merit, quite independently of their historic interest as coins.

The gold coinage was greatly debased at this time, to make it accord in value with the coins of the Continent; the old sovereigns being ordered to pass first for twenty-two shillings, and afterwards for twenty-two shillings and sixpence. The first sovereigns had on the reverse the large rose with the arms in the centre, but afterwards, the royal arms surmounted by the crown, and supported by a lion and dragon, which is the first example of heraldic supporters on English coins. (No. 13, Plate 6.) There were half-sovereigns of both sorts; and also the old noble, now called the "rose noble," to distinguish it from the new George noble which had been recently issued. St. George and the Dragon formed the type of the obverse of this last-named coin,—a device which was not repeated in any subsequent reign till it was adopted in that of George III. as the reverse of the silver five-shilling pieces, and on the sovereigns. The angel was still coined as before, but crowns and half-crowns of gold were now added for the first time; one type having for reverse the crown and rose, similar to the testoon or shilling, the other a cross-fleurie, with a large rose in the middle; both having the crowned arms for obverse. (See specimen No. 14½, Plate 6.)

Specimen No. 13, Plate 6, is the sovereign above alluded to; the obverse has the king seated on the throne, with HENRIC. DI. GRA. ANG. FRANC. Z. HIB. REX., and the reverse, the royal arms, surmounted by the crown, and supported by the lion and dragon.

No. 14, Plate 6, is the George noble, having St. George on horseback, in the costume of the time, about to transfix the dragon, with the motto, TALI. DICATT. SIG. MES. FLUCTUARI. NEQT., more or less abbreviated, for "Tali dicat signo meus fluctuare nequit," which may be freely translated—"Devoted to such an emblem the mind cannot waver,"—the emblem alluded to being doubtless the "cross" on the banners of St. George. The reverse has a ship with three

crosses for masts, and a rose on the centre mast, with the motto HENRICUS D. G., &c.

The angel of Henry VIII. closely resembled those of the previous reigns, the motto on the reverse being PER. CRVCE. TVA. SALVA. NOS. X. RE. REDET., more or less abbreviated, for PER. CRVCE(M) TVA(M) SALVA. NOS. X. (for CHRISTE) REDEMTOR—"By Thy cross save us, O Christ, the Redeemer."

No. 15, Plate 6, is a gold crown, with the cross-fleurie and large rose, from the half-crown. It has the legend HENRIC. 8. DE. GRA., &c., on the obverse; and on the reverse, HENRI VIII., RUTILANS. ROSA SINE. SPINA—"The blushing rose without a thorn," which is doubtless an allusion to the badge being now used as a type for a peaceful purpose, which had once served as a badge in the sanguinary wars so recently brought to a close by the union of the houses of York and Lancaster. A great variety of mint-marks appear on the different coinages of this reign,—that of the *arrow* of the London mint may have been adopted in allusion to the assumption by the king, at the field of the cloth of gold, of "an archer drawing his arrow to the head." The *bow* of the same mint was probably adopted for the same reason, though said to be used as a punning device upon the name of Sir Martin Bowes, master of the mint, a kind of conceit common to the period. The pomegranate on the Canterbury coins appears to have been used by the Archbishop Wareham, in compliment to the Queen Catherine of Arragon, of whose family it was the badge. While Archbishop Cranmer afterwards used the Catherine wheel as a mint-mark in compliment to Queen Katherine Parr; not, in all probability, to Katherine Howard, who was a papist.

In this reign the pound troy superseded the pound tower in the mint, and the standard of gold was settled, which has ever since been termed crown gold. It was, in the latter years of the reign, greatly debased, but the standard, correctly termed crown gold, was twenty-two carats fine, to two carats alloy.

The excessive debasement of the silver coin in this reign was the first blow struck against the oppressive regulations passed in previous reigns with a view to prevent the export of coin; for it caused foreigners to prefer merchandise or bills of exchange, which thus at once rendered the whole oppressive machinery useless, with the exception of the office of royal exchanger; against which, however, the elder Gresham* pleaded so wisely and so boldly that the stern and obstinate Tudor at last listened, and if he did not at once abolish the office, it became nearly a sinecure.

The most remarkable Irish coins of this reign are the series of groats with the arms of England, crowned, on the obverse, and the Irish harp, crowned, on the reverse, with the "R. H." on each side of the harp; and on later issues, in succession, the letters H. A., for "Henry and Anna," during his marriage with Anne Boleyn. H. J., for "Henry and Jane Seymour;" and H. K., for "Henry and Katherine Howard." (See No. 19, Plate 18, one of the Anna Boleyn groats.) Half-groats of these types are also known, but

* Father of the builder of the Royal Exchange.

are very rare. In this reign the title of "King of Ireland" was adopted on the coins, instead of the old style, "Lord" or "Dominus."

In the thirty-sixth year of this reign pieces of sixpence, threepence, three-halfpence, and three-farthings were first struck in Ireland, similar to the coinage issued in England at the same time. They had a three-quarter face of the king on the obverse, and the arms of England, traversed by a long cross, on the reverse. The inscriptions were, on the larger pieces, HENRIC. 8 D.G. AGL. FRA. Z. HIB. REX., differently abbreviated, for "Henricus VIII. Dei Gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ Rex;" and on the reverse, the place of mintage, CIVITAS DUBLINIE. The three-halfpenny pieces had H. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SPINA., and on the reverse CIVITAS DUBLINIE. The three-halfpenny and three-farthing pieces are of the greatest rarity.

Several forgeries, with rude and blundered legends, which were put into circulation in this reign, are occasionally found. The Irish coinage being greatly debased in the royal mints, was probably the principal incentive to these forgeries.

EDWARD VI. (1547 to 1553). This prince was little more than nine years of age when he ascended the throne; but in the journal which he kept, in his own writing, and which is still preserved in the British Museum, he made several entries respecting the coinage, which show that he had been taught to appreciate the subject. It was determined that the base state in which Henry VIII. had left it should be remedied; but an honest way of going about the work does not appear to have occurred either to the youthful king or his ministers. The first silver coinage he issued was of the same low standard as the last of the previous reign—viz., 4 ounces of silver to 8 ounces of alloy, and the penny was of 10 grains.

Of this issue there were also testoons, groats, half-groats, pennies, half-pennies, and farthings; but groats, half-groats, and pennies only are known. They have a well-executed profile of the king, and the reverse has the arms traversed by a cross, the motto remaining as before. The penny has the legend E. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SPINA, variously abbreviated. Some of the legends of the obverses of this coinage read Edoard; and the Bristol pennies are blundered in the legend of the reverse, which reads *spipa* instead of *spina*. In the third year of the reign there was an attempt made to improve the coinage by issuing shillings of only 5 to 6 ounces alloy instead of 8. They have the king's profile, crowned, not very different from the previous groats; but they have, in the legend, the Roman numerals VI. instead of the Arabic 6, as in the groats; and the reverses have, for the first time on the English coinage, an oval shield without a cross, decorated in a style of ornament which then began to supersede the (so-called) Gothic manner; a further modification of which has since been termed "Elizabethan." The motto was TIMOR. DOMINE. FON. VITÆ, MDXLIV.,* round the head, and the name and titles on the reverse; but some had the name and titles round the head, and INIMICOS EJUS INDUAM CONFUSIONE—"His enemies will I clothe with shame," Psalm cxxxii., the 18th

* "The fear of the Lord is a fountain of life."—Proverbs xiv., verse 27.

and last verse, described as 19 in Mr. Hawkins's work, there being a 19th verse in the "Prayer Book" version. The date was now introduced for the first time on the English coinage. The motto TIMOR DOMINE, &c., is that of the Earls of Dunboyne; and a writer in the numismatic chronicle states that a member of that family informed him. that an ancestor was master of the mint in the reign of Edward VI., who very probably commemorated his tenure of that office by placing the family motto on the coinage, after the manner pursued by the triumviri of the Roman mint, who placed family badges and mottoes connected with their family history on the coins struck under their direction.

The issue of the third year seems rather to have added to the confusion; for testoons were soon cried down to ninepence, and other coins in proportion, robbing the public to the amount of one-fourth of the original value of the silver coinage. Subsequently the shillings were cried down to sixpence, and eventually, in the reign of Elizabeth, these base shillings were marked with a particular mint-mark (a portcullis in some cases), and ordered to pass for fourpence-halfpenny; so that, in the end, a fraud of three-fourths of the nominal amount of the base coinage was effected. This dishonest abuse of power is alarming to contemplate, even at a distance; but it is happily rendered impossible in our own more fortunate times, by improved institutions and the popular curb which has been placed upon monarchic power.

The confusion in the value of the precious metals at this time appears to have been extreme; silver being rated at 12s. the ounce, and gold at only 60s., so that gold was only made five times more valuable than silver; and in the third year of the reign, when gold was at the lower rate of 48s., it was only four times the value of pure silver. There could, it would appear, have been no freedom in the exchanges, or the value of gold must have been at that time eleven times greater than that of silver. The discrepancy in the relative prices of the two precious metals could not have been occasioned from an over abundance of gold in the country; for Stowe tells us that "the base money caused the old sterling moneys to be hoorded up, so that he had himself seen 21s. given for an old angel to guild withall."*

It seems scarcely credible that, after the crying down of the shillings to ninepence (and those, in fact, only worth fourpence-halfpenny), a still baser coinage was issued; and to ascertain with what view, let us see the king's own journal:—"It was appointed to make 20,000 pounds weight *somewhat baser*, to get *gains* £15,000 clear, by which," &c., &c., the coin was to be amended!! The silver now issued had 9 ounces of alloy to 3 ounces of silver. These coins bear the same types as the preceding ones, and in the reign of Elizabeth they were stamped with a greyhound, and ordered to pass for twopence-farthing. The base shillings were alluded to by Bishop Latimer† in a remarkable passage of one of his sermons:—"We have now a pretty little shilling, a very pretty shilling," &c., but "the fineness of the silver I cannot see, yet thereon is printed a fine sentence, TIMOR

* The angel ought to have been current for 6s. 8d.

† Folkes.

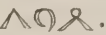
DOMINI FONS VITÆ—"The fear of the Lord is a fountain of life." I would to God this sentence was always printed in the heart of the king." In another place, speaking of the baseness of the coinage, he says, applying a text of Isaiah, "*Argentum tuum versum est in scoriam*—"Thy silver is turned into"—what? into testions? No! *Scoriam!* 'into dross!'" These passages both occurred in sermons preached before the king. Such allusions having been spoken of as seditious, Latimer replied, in a subsequent discourse,—"*Thus they burdened me ever with sedition,*" &c., said the preacher; "*but I have now gotten one fellow more a companion in sedition, and wot you who is my fellow?—Esay, the prophet,*" alluding to the passage from Isaiah which he had quoted.

The coins with the mint-marks of the swan, rose, arrow, and *bow*, are said to have been coined at the mint in Durham House, in the Strand, by Sir Martin Bowes. Of all ways that were tried to keep up the circulation of a base currency, the most determined were proclamations, *ordering* the people, under severe penalties, to bring corn and provisions to the markets, which they withheld in consequence of the bad money. Next, arbitrary prices were fixed for bread, butter, poultry, &c. But, all proving ineffectual, it was at length determined really to be honest, and to reform the coinage in the true sense of the word.

In 1551, crowns, and half-crowns of silver (the first struck in England), shillings, sixpences, and threepences, were issued—11 oz. 1 dwt. fine, to 19 dwts. of alloy, being only 1 dwt. worse than the old standard; and thus five shillings in the silver coin became truly worth five of the gold. The silver, in the indentures respecting this coinage, made, no doubt, upon correct but too tardy information on the subject, was rated at 5*s.* 5*d.* the ounce, while gold was at 60*s.*; showing that the proper value of gold, with reference to silver, was as eleven to one. Notwithstanding this excellent advance in the right direction, groats were afterwards issued, as well as pennies and half-pennies, of base metal, by which the government still sought dishonest gain. It was at this time (1551) agreed that the "stamp on the shilling and sixpence should be, on one side, a king, to the shoulders, in parliament robes, with the collar of the Garter," &c., and that the five-shillings and half five-shillings should have "a king on horseback," &c. Also, that the fine moneys should be coined in the Tower and in Southwark; and the smaller pieces, of baser metal, at Canterbury and York. Those coined in the Tower were struck under the direction of Throgmorton; those of the Southwark mint under that of Sir John York, which have the initial of his name, Y, as their mint-mark. There are many interesting mint-marks upon the various coinages of this reign, among which, the head of a falcon, or griffon, may have been adopted in compliment to the mother of the king, the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, as being the badge of her family.

No. 16, Plate 6, is the obverse of the shilling, on which the oval shield, &c., was first used for the reverse.

No. 17, Plate 6, is a crown of the fine coinage of 1552; it has the king, crowned, on horseback, wearing the armour of the period. The horse, the

housings, and the figure of the king, are better executed, as to correct drawing, than the devices of any previous British coins. It has likewise the peculiarity of the date, now newly used on the coins; the title is as on the previous shillings: on the reverse, the oval shield is abandoned, and the arms traversed by the cross again used, with the old motto of Edward III., POSUI, &c. Although this is the first occasion on which a date was placed on the coinage of the kings of England, struck in England, it may be observed that on the groats of Henry VIII., struck at Tournay in 1511, the date of that year appears in Arabic numerals. (Nos. 17 and 18, Plate 5.) On the coins struck by the Duchess of Burgundy for the use of the pretender Perkin Warbeck, the earlier date, 1478, appears, as shown in Arabic numerals, of archaic form, in the specimen No. 16, Plate 5. The coinages of the Continent exhibit much earlier specimens than either of these; the earliest example among which is a silver penny of Aix-la-Chapelle, bearing the date 1374 in Roman numerals, as MCCCCLXXIII. Another coin of the same mint bears the date 1404, in Arabic numerals; and a coin of the celebrated Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, bears the date of 1474, also in Arabic numerals. The early use of Arabic numerals among the neighbouring nations of the Continent is a curious circumstance worthy of careful investigation, as it appears to have followed very quickly upon the first appearance of the Arabs in Europe, of which the date, 794, inscribed on the tomb of Fastradana, the first wife of Charlemagne, is a curious example,—the figures are of the ancient form, .

No. 18, Plate 6, is a sixpence of this coinage; and the same types appeared on the shillings and threepenny pieces—viz., a nearly full face of the king, in parliament robes, with the collar of the Garter, and numerals on the field, to denote its value—the shillings having XII., and the threepences III., which was the first time the value of the coins was so marked on the coinage of England. The reverses have the arms on the old pointed shield, with the cross, and the motto, POSUI, &c.

The London pennies of baser silver, coined at this time, had the king on a throne, with E. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SP.; and on the reverse, the arms, with CIVITAS LONDON. The York pennies had a simple rose, with ROSA, &c. The reverse like the London ones, but with CIVITAS EBORACI.

Each coinage had, as in all the recent reigns, distinct mint-marks—the tun, the rose, a swan, &c.

No. 19, Plate 6, shows the obverse and reverse of a York penny.

Of the gold coinage of this reign it may be said that our gold had never been so much debased. It was remarkable, however, in the later issues, for its improvement in execution, and the complete disappearance of the *Gothic* feeling of art. The earlier issue of double sovereigns, sovereigns, and angels, closely resembled the sovereigns and angels of the previous reign—too closely to render an example necessary, yet distinguished easily by the name, &c. In the subsequent coinages, however, of which specimens are given, the gold coins assumed a new and, artistically considered, very superior character, if not quite so picturesque.

Different standards of gold continued to be used after the reform of the coinage; for instance, a pound weight of gold, of 28 carats fine to 1 carat alloy, was coined into 24 sovereigns of 30 shillings, equal to 36 sovereigns of 20 shillings each; while a pound weight of gold of 22 carats fine to 2 carats alloy, was coined into 33 sovereigns of 20 shillings each.

Specimen No. 20, Plate 6, is a treble sovereign. It has the king enthroned (the Gothic character having quite disappeared), with the usual name and title: the reverse has the arms, supported by a lion and a dragon standing on a scrolled ornament, in the new style, with the letters E. R., the motto being still the old one of the nobles of Edward III.—JESUS AUTEM, &c.

Specimen No. 21, Plate 6, is the obverse of a still later coinage, of a pattern of which sovereigns, half-sovereigns, five-shilling pieces, and two-shilling-and-sixpenny pieces were coined. The sovereign only differed in having supporters to the arms on the reverse, like the previous sovereigns; and the smaller pieces had E. R. on either side the arms, instead of supporters. The mottoes on the sovereigns and half-sovereigns are JESUS AUTEM, &c.; on the crown, SCUTUM FIDEI PROTEGETEUM—"The shield of faith protects him;" and on the half-crown the same, abbreviated. The three-quarter figure of the king, in embossed armour, on these pieces, is very elegant, and rather in the Italian style of art which prevailed in England and France at this period; but which, in the English coinage, is confined to this reign, and does not re-appear.

A crown of another pattern was issued, having the king's bust, in armour, and bareheaded, on the obverse; and on the reverse, the crowned rose. The half-crown of this type had the rose without stalk. There are also sovereigns, half-sovereigns, crowns, and half-crowns, with the same bust, but having the oval shield (like the shillings) on the reverse. Another series only varies from the last mentioned by having the head crowned.

A six-angel piece of beautiful workmanship is figured by Folkes; the figure of the angel being in the high Italian school, and might almost be termed Raffaelesque. The reverse, instead of an old ship or galley of the time of Edward III., which had been accurately copied on gold pieces of a certain class up to this period, and having a figure of the king of a size which reduced the ship to the dimensions of a slipper-bath, had now a fine ship of the sixteenth century (the grand original type of our three-deckers of the present day), bearing a shield, with the royal arms, on the side, behind which is a figure in something like proper proportion; other figures being placed in the rigging, in order to give due effect to the dimensions of the vessel. This is, perhaps, the finest piece in the annals of English coinage prior to the great reforms, and the introduction of the mill and screw, under the energetic government of Cromwell. It is, however, only a pattern, and as *coin*, was never issued. I have not, therefore, engraved it in this work.

Although Acts were prepared, during this reign, with a view to the striking of money in Ireland, it is doubtful whether any was issued; no pieces having been discovered which can be with any certainty assigned to Edward VI.

CHAPTER VII.

COINS OF MARY, MARY AND PHILIP, AND ELIZABETH.

MARY (1553 to 1558), on her accession, declared her *intention* of restoring the old standard in the silver coinage, namely, 11 oz. 2 dwt. fine, and 18 dwt. alloy; but instead of that, the new coinage fell 1 dwt. lower than the last of Edward VI. On her first coins she is represented in profile, crowned, and styled MARIA D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGI. (for Regina). The motto of the reverse is frequently VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA—"Truth is the daughter of Time," suggested, it is supposed, by the Romish priesthood, in allusion to the restoration of the Roman Catholic faith, after its suppression during two reigns. On her first coins, subsequent to her marriage with Philip of Spain, the queen's head appears crowned as before, with the legend, PHILIP Z. MARIA D. G. REX. Z. REGINA. Soon afterwards, however, a coinage was issued, partly, no doubt, from the treasure brought over by Philip, which was sent with so much ostentation to the Tower. On this coinage the bust of Philip appears facing that of Mary: to which Butler alludes in the lines:—

" Still amorous, fond, and billing,
Like Philip and Mary upon a shilling."

The legend on these coins stood PHILIP ET MARIA D. G. R. ANG. FR. NEAP. PR. HISP., thus describing the two sovereigns as King and Queen of England, France, and Naples, and Princes of Spain. On the reverse, the old motto, POSUI &c., was changed to the plural, as, POSUIMUS DEUM, ADJUTOREM NOSTRUM.

There is another pattern shilling having the king's head on one side of the coin, and the queen's on the other, with the legend, PHILIPPUS DEI G. R. ANG. FR. NEAP. PR. HISP., on one side, and MARIA, with the same titles, on the other; the coin engraved as an example, No. 6, Plate 7, has the date 1554; others are dated 1557.

After Philip became King of Spain, by the abdication of his father, the title of "Princes of Spain" became inconsistent, and all allusion to foreign dominion was omitted, the legend standing PHILIP ET MARIA D. G. REX ET REGINA ANG., for although Philip had now become King of Spain, he never assumed that title on the English coinage.

The motto of the reverse remained the same, and the Spanish arms were impaled on the right side, and the English on the left.

Specimen No. 4, Plate 7, is a groat previous to her marriage.

Specimen No. 6, Plate 7, is the shilling, on which the head of the queen occupies one side, and that of the king the other.



Specimen No. 5, Plate 7, is a shilling, with the busts facing each other. There were also coined pennies of strongly alloyed silver, some with the queen's profile, some with the rose; both having the motto, ROSA SINE SPINA, on the obverse, and the place of mintage on the reverse; and there were others like No. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$, Plate 7.

The gold coinage of Mary does not exhibit a continuation of the improvement in style commenced by her predecessor. The largest gold were termed sovereigns, and were ordered to be current at thirty shillings. The half-sovereigns were called royals of gold, and were ordered to pass for fifteen shillings. The angel was to be current at ten shillings, and the half-royal at five shillings. It is somewhat singular that no traces of Philip appear on the gold coins, except in the inscriptions.

The sovereign (specimen 1, Plate 7) is a return to the precise style of art of those of Henry VII. and VIII. The rial of gold, or half-sovereign (No. 2, Plate 7), has the old ship, with the figure holding the shield and sword transformed to that of a female, and the reverse like the spur rials of Edward IV.; while the angels have precisely the old type, rather more coarsely done. Specimen 3, Plate 7, is an angelet, or half-angel. It was, probably, with a strong Roman Catholic feeling, of reducing all things to the state and form they occupied previous to the Reformation, that this retrograde movement in the art, as applied to the coinage, took place.

In this reign, and that of Elizabeth, legislative interference with the import and export of coin was in a sort of transition state, most of the acts remaining in force, but inactive; the prejudices of the commercial interest of the country being, from sheer habit, favourable to their retention. It may save trouble to mention at once, that in the reign of James I. the last part of this machinery, that of the office of royal exchanger, was swept away. Its abolition had been retarded in consequence of the Burleighs holding its emoluments as a sinecure; but public opinion having greatly changed, and the mischievous as well as troublesome tendency of this office becoming evident to all, it was at last swept away.

In the year 1553, shillings, groats, half-groats, and pennies, were struck in Ireland, having a good profile of the queen on the obverse, equal to that on the English coinage (see Plate 7, No. 4), and on the reverse the Irish harp, "crowned" between the letters "M. R.," and also surmounted by small crowns. The legend on the obverse of the shillings and groats was MARIA D. G. ANG. FRA. Z. HIB. REGINA; more abbreviated on the half-groats. The legend of all the reverses was the same as that of her chief gold coinages in England, VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA, and they bore the dates 1553 and 1554. These coins are of as good silver as the English coinage of this reign; but the penny in the Duke of Devonshire's cabinet appears sufficient evidence to substantiate the statement of Simon, that a base coinage was also issued of as coarse and base a metal as that used in the reign of Henry VIII.

After her marriage, Irish coins were struck with the portraits of the king and queen facing each other, and the legend PHILIP ET MARIA D. G. REX. ET

REGINA ANG., with the date 1555. The reverse was the same as on the previous issues, with the exception that the crowned initials were "P. M.," and the legend, POSUIMUS DEUM ADJUTOREM NOSTRUM.

In this reign (1557) the circulation of the English "rose pennies" of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. was restricted to Ireland; and in this and future reigns the name of the Dublin mint was omitted on the Irish coinage, and mint-marks used instead, as on all the larger coins of the English money.

ELIZABETH (1558 to 1602). The complete restoration of the integrity of the currency is justly ascribed to Elizabeth, although she only gave the finishing hand to what had been already commenced by her brother. In the first instance, she only ascertained the amount of silver in the base money, and caused it to be stamped and pass for its true value (a course which involved loss to the nation and gain to the government, which received back as $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ that which it had issued as $12d.$ For this, perhaps, we do not owe her much gratitude), but she afterwards produced a coinage scrupulously corresponding in weight and purity with its nominal value—with the exception, of course, of a deduction for that rate of profit or seignorage which had always been considered the fair privilege of the sovereign. It would appear, however, from the discovery of letters, &c., &c., in the state-paper office,* that we are chiefly indebted for the originating and carrying out of this great measure to a London merchant—the same illustrious Gresham to whom the city owes its Royal Exchange and other useful institutions. It would appear that some difficulties occurred as to the mode of refining the base metal of which the existing silver coinage was composed, and Gresham, during his residence in Antwerp, effected arrangements with a great firm in that city for refining the whole for the remuneration of $\frac{3}{4}$ oz. per pound of silver, and also the whole of the copper contained in it. The following may be cited as an extract from one of his letters, introducing one of the Flemish merchants to Sir Thomas Parry, treasurer of the queen's household:—"Albeit the enterprise is of great importance, and the sooner it is put in hand the more honour and proffyt it wolle be to the Quene's Majestie and the realme; for, doubtless, this will rayse the exchange to xxv. viiid. at the least."

Thus it would appear that the great cause of the very effectual reform of the coinage was the growing wants of our rapidly-extending commerce, represented and advocated by the acute genius of Gresham. But no mention is of course made of him on the medal struck in honour of the queen, to commemorate the event. Of the final return to good money she should, however, at least have shared the honours with her brother, Edward VI., by whom the good work was, in fact, fairly begun, Elizabeth only putting the completing hand to it, even if the energy and talent with which Gresham pushed forward the cause were to be counted as nothing. But she saw, no doubt, the eventual† popularity that would accrue to her from

* Discovered by Mr. Burgon.

† It was unpopular at the time, and no wonder, from the mode of carrying it into execution, by compelling every man to give up for $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ the shilling for which he had given $12d.$

appearing as the principal actor in such a measure, and therefore made herself as conspicuous as possible in its advocacy, even going to the Tower and coining pieces of fine money with her own hand, which she graciously distributed to those immediately around her.

The coinage of her first three years consisted of shillings, groats, half-groats, and pennies, which were of the same fineness as the last of the preceding reign. But inconvenience being felt for want of small money, she soon after issued a coinage of sixpences, threepences, three-halfpences, and three-farthings, of the full old English standard of 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine silver, to 18 dwt. alloy.

Of these coins of three-halfpence and three-farthings, none were issued in previous or subsequent reigns; and yet Shakspeare, with that disregard of anachronism in such matters common to writers of that age, finding them current in his time, speaks of them as though they had been current in the reign of John, making Faulconbridge ridicule the leanness of his legitimate elder brother, by likening him to a "half-faced groat,"—referring to the new-made groats, which had a profile instead of full face;* and then, referring to the rose on one side of the three-farthing pieces, he says he would not own

"a face so thin
That in mine ear I durst not stick a rose,
Lest men should say, Look where three-farthings goes."

Beaumont and Fletcher, in "The Scornful Lady," also refer to these three-farthings, which had a rose, like the 6*d.*, 3*d.*, and 1½*d.* of this issue, at the side of the head, the erasure of which made them look something like the penny of the earliest coinage of the reign. The passage occurs when speaking of a culprit who should be "whipped, and then cropt, for washing out the roses in *three-farthings*, to make them *pence*."

In the year 1582 these three-farthings and three-halfpenny pieces were discontinued, and shillings, half-groats, and pence, were revived, of similar types. Upon the whole of this coinage the date was placed, and seldom omitted on English coins afterwards. The small coins of this reign were the last that bore the name of the place of mintage, as CIVITAS LONDON, &c.

But the great event in the coinage of this period was the temporary introduction of the mill and screw, instead of the hammer and punch principle; by which reform in their mechanical production, coins of a much more workmanlike and regular appearance were produced. Indeed, the regularity of this process, combined with the placing of the date on the coins, were, together, the cause of the ultimate discontinuance of mint-marks, previously rendered necessary in order that irregularities in weight, execution, &c., should be attributed to the proper mint and mintage.

Folkes tells us that, "The maker of this milled money is reported to have been one Philip Mastrelle, a Frenchman, who eventually fell into the practice of coining counterfeit money, and was convicted, and executed at

* It is well known that no groats of any description were executed in the days of John.

Tyburn, on the 27th of January, 1569." But Mr. Hawkins does not place any reliance upon this statement, and asserts that the name of the introducer of this process is unknown, and the whole history of its employment involved in obscurity. The principal feature in the new method was the power of ornamenting the edges of the coins; but the whole appearance of the money so produced was more workmanlike. Most of the milled coins in this reign may be distinguished by a star of five points at the end of the legend. Patterns of half-crowns exist of the coinage between 1561 and 1575; but none were issued till those of 1601 and 1602, which are very handsome coins, and the first large silver that was coined after the death of Edward VI. There are also shillings, sixpences, half-groats, pennies, and halfpennies, of this coinage. It was in 1601 that silver coin was again reduced in weight, and, as Folkes tells us, the same standard of value was then adopted which has been ever since retained.

On some of the coins of Elizabeth the arms of Zealand are found stamped; others have "H" for Holland: both which are supposed to have been so marked for subsidies to be taken to the Low Countries by Leicester.

The East India merchants were also allowed to coin what have been called crowns, half-crowns, and shillings, for circulation in their foreign dealings, but which were, in fact, struck to accord with the weight of the Spanish piastre, and the half, the quarter, and the half-quarter of the same. These coins have been called the "portcullis money," from a large portcullis occupying the whole of the reverse, forming a very striking type.

Specimen No. 7, Plate 7, is one of the first, or hammered shillings, having the profile young-looking, and crowned, with ELIZAB. D. G. ANG. FR. ET. HIB. REGI, and on the reverse the arms traversed by the cross, with the old motto, POSUI, &c.; the oval shield of Edward VI., without the cross, not appearing on any of the coins of this reign.

Specimen No. 8, Plate 7, is the threepenny piece.

Specimen No. 9, Plate 7, is one of the three-farthing pieces, with the rose behind the head, and E. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA; the reverse, with the arms like her other coins, has also the date (for the first time on small pieces), and CIVITAS LONDON. The threepence has the same types, &c., but the sixpence has the queen's titles in full.

Specimen No. 10, Plate 7, is a halfpenny.

Specimen No. 11, Plate 7, is one of the *thick-milled* shillings, with the broad cross.

Specimen No. 12, Plate 7, is a five-shilling piece.

A great variety of mint-marks occur on the coinages of Elizabeth, by means of which coins may be assigned to almost every year of the reign; none of them are, however, of special interest, though some, from their rarity, cause the coins to sell for large prices. One of the sixpences, known as the Pudsey sixpence, which have a large scallop shell on the reverse, sold, in 1838, for £3 8s., though it is well known that they have only been so stamped by the caprice of some silversmith.

It will appear extraordinary that, notwithstanding the restoration of the English coinage, base money was still coined for Ireland, as though unfairness and oppression towards that unfortunate country had ever formed part of a positive system with the English government.

The gold coins of this reign do not vary much from those of Mary. There was the double rial with the queen on the throne, and the rose reverse, with the arms in the centre; and the rial with the queen in the ship, having the reverse still like the old noble.

There were two standards of gold: one called the old standard, $23\frac{1}{2}$ carats fine to half a carat alloy, one pound weight of which was to be coined into 24 sovereigns of 30s. (equal to 36 of 20s.) Another standard of 22 carats fine to 2 carats of alloy (crown gold), of which the pound weight was to be coined into only 33 sovereigns of 20s. Afterwards, about 10s. more was made from the pound of each standard.

Specimen No. 13, Plate 7, is the rial, with the device of the old nobles—the ship, &c. The reverse of this coin is the famous “sun” device of Edward IV. This rial of England was the handsomest coin of these types that had appeared.

The angels, half-angels, and quarter-angels, were similar to those of Mary and her predecessors, but rather better executed than those of Mary. The only new artistic feature of the gold coinage of this reign being the sovereigns, half-sovereigns, quarter-sovereigns, and half-quarter-sovereigns, which were of a new type.

The specimen No. 14, Plate 7, is a half-sovereign of the new type. The obverse has the profile of the queen, crowned, with ELIZABETH, D. G. ANG. FRA. ET HIB. REGINA. The reverse has the royal arms surmounted with a crown, which has the arch indented in the centre, like the modern crown, with “E. R.” on either side, and the motto, SCUTUM FIDEI PROTEGET EAM. There are several varieties of this type, some having a line and beading within the legend, others with different forms of the crown, and some having an ermined robe. No. 15 is a quarter-sovereign of the same type.

Specimen No. 16, Plate 7, is a half-crown, or half-quarter-sovereign, of precisely the same pattern as the half-sovereign.

During this reign there was coined, of silver, including the base silver of Ireland, £4,718,579 2s. $8\frac{1}{2}d.$; of gold, £440,552 8s. $9\frac{3}{4}d.$

The first money coined in Ireland in this reign was that shameful recoinage in Dublin of the base metal then current in England, only three ounces fine in the pound troy. This base issue has the same types, with the exception of the portrait, name, and crowned initials, as the shilling of Mary.

Between 1598 and 1601 another Irish coinage took place, equally base, consisting of shillings, sixpences, and threepences. The type of the reverse of these coins was varied by having three harps upon a shield, instead of the single crowned harp. On either side of the shield is the date, instead of the crowned initials. There was also another issue of shillings, sixpences, and threepences, the types of which were the arms of England on the

obverse, and the Irish harp, crowned, on the reverse, with no initials or date.

Copper pence and halfpence, the first struck by a British sovereign, were issued in Ireland in this reign (1601); and farthings are also mentioned in the record, but none have ever been discovered.

The copper money only differed from the silver last described in having the initials "E. R." on each side of the shield on the obverse, and the dates, 16-01 and 16-02, on either side of the harp.



CHAPTER VIII.

THE COINAGE OF SCOTLAND PREVIOUS TO THE UNION.

BEFORE describing the coinage of James I. of England and VI. of Scotland, it will be necessary to take a hasty review of the origin and progress of the Scottish coinage, after which the Scottish coins will be described in each reign till the abolition of the Scottish mints.

The earliest coins attributed to Scotland, previous to the appearance of Mr. Lindsay's work, were those of William the Lion, 1165; and even these were by many considered doubtful, and as probably belonging to William the Conqueror. It is possible, however, that a regular coinage was known in Scotland at least two centuries earlier; for the southern portion of what is now termed Scotland was included in the Saxon kingdom of Northumberland, and the Northumbrian coin circulated there, while a great portion of the North was possessed by the kings of Norway, who coined money certainly in the tenth century. It is not, therefore, that coins were unknown to the people of Scotland till the twelfth century, but that they did not assume a distinctive and national character before that period.

A few coins have been recently attributed to princes of the Hebrides, which, however, are not of earlier date than the eleventh century; of these the coin No. 1, Plate 19, appears to have been coined by a prince bearing the name of *Somerled*, whose name, blundered and badly executed, is followed by the letters RO-AE: RO, the word expressing king on northern coins, and AE, which is probably an abbreviation of *ÆBRYDÆ*—"of the Hebrides." *Somerled* is a name only found in connection with the *Æbridæ*, or Hebrides, and this coin has, therefore, with good show of probability, been attributed to that region.

No. 2, Plate 19, is, however, the first coin attributed to a native Scotch monarch: it is assigned to Malcolm III., a cotemporary of William the Conqueror, and was first published by Mr. Lindsay in his valuable work. The style of the front face, and the cross and pellets of the reverse, which last belong to a somewhat later period, render this attribution doubtful. Coins have been recently attributed also to Donald VIII. (1093), and the long disputed ones of Alexander I. (1107) finally adjusted—some of them being securely attributed to that prince.

Coins attributed to Malcolm IV. are doubtful. Those issued by William I., surnamed "The Lion," are, however, undoubted, and are very numerous. These coins bear the names of various moneyers and places of mintage, after the manner of the English coinage of the period; those of the Berwick, Edinburgh, and Perth mints being most common. No. 2, Plate 19, is a silver penny of this monarch.

The coins of Alexander II. and III. are very difficult to distinguish, and, like those of William I., are very rude in execution, and much inferior to the English coinage of the period. Those of John Baliol, however, and Robert Bruce, which are at once recognizable, are in some respects superior to the English cotemporary coinage, inasmuch as the head, which is a profile, appears to be an attempt at a real portrait, and not the unmeaning conventional face which, from Edward I to Henry VII., is found on the coinage of England. No. 4, Plate 19, is a silver penny of Robert Bruce. The groats with ROBERTUS REX are all now assigned to Robert II. The coins of this prince and David II. resemble those of Robert Bruce in the treatment of the head.

DAVID II. (1371) entered into a convention with Edward III. of England, for the purpose of equalizing the monetary values, so that the money of Scotland might circulate in England, and *vice versa*. To effect this purpose it became necessary to recoin a great portion of the Scottish currency, which was below the English in weight and purity; and in order to distinguish the new coinage it was ordered a "notable sign" should be impressed upon it. This notable sign consisted generally in a large B; and the coins thus distinguished soon became so much sought after, that ingenious forgeries were executed—many of which have recently come to light; and they are excellent specimens of the forger's dishonest art.

In the reign of David II., also, the first gold coinage of Scotland took place, when fine gold pieces were issued, evidently in imitation of the nobles of Edward III., from which they differ in no respect except in the substitution of the arms of Scotland for those of England on the shield, and the name and titles of the Scottish king in the legend.

In the reign of ROBERT II. coins of gold were issued of a more national character, having the arms of Scotland on the obverse, and St. Andrew on his cross on the reverse, from which this coin was popularly termed the "St. Andrew." (See No. 1, Plate 8.) This piece probably passed for five shillings. It was, in the Acts, called a "gold penny," the half being called a "maille." The smaller piece, having only the cross, and not the figure of St. Andrew, on the reverse, was, however, popularly called "the lion," from the lion on the shield of the obverse, in order to distinguish it from the St. Andrew.

ROBERT III. (1390). The heads on the silver coinage of Robert III. lose altogether the originality of character of those of the previous reigns, and are evidently close copies of the unmeaning head common to all the English silver money of the period; while on the reverses the three stars in the angles of the cross were also abandoned for the three pellets of the coinage of England. (See a groat of Robert III., No. 5, Plate 19.)

Robert III., JAMES I., and JAMES II. (from 1390 to 1460), issued similar gold coins to those of Robert II. No. 2, Plate 8, is one of the lozenge lions of James II. There were also St. Andrew's and half St. Andrew's of each of these reigns.

In the reign of JAMES III. the demi or lozenge lions of gold of

James I. and II. were ordered to pass for twelve shillings each, and other lions for ten shillings each, showing the great increase in the value of the old gold coin. The first were afterwards raised to thirteen shillings and fourpence each.

The silver coins of James I., II., and III., were, like those of the previous reign, very closely copied from the English, with the exception, that two of the angles of the cross are filled by a crown, a fleur-de-lis, or a single star, the English pellets remaining in the opposite angles. Nos. 7 and 8, Plate 19, are silver coins of these reigns: a penny and a groat.

The close resemblance of the Scottish to the English coinage in these reigns attracted the attention of the English parliament, more especially as the Scottish coins were issued of rapidly-decreasing weight in each successive reign. In that of Robert II. the coins of the same denomination were already a quarter lighter than the English, and in the reign of James II., it was enacted in Scotland that the English groat should pass for eightpence Scotch.

BILLON COINS OF SCOTLAND.

It was about this period that the first *billon* coins were issued, which are attributed to Robert III. The specimen engraved is that described by Lyndsay: it has the usual full face of the period, and the king's name on the obverse; and on the reverse the cross and pellets of the English coinage, and the legend *VILLA INNERNIS*, being the only coin struck at Inverness yet discovered. (See Plate 19, No. 6.) These base coins were pennies, and afterwards, when still baser were coined, were termed "white pennies," to distinguish them from the baser coin, which became known as the "black penny." The first of these base coins went eventually at the rate of $3\frac{1}{2}$ for a silver penny. The groats and half-groats, which were coined in *billon* of different degrees of baseness, were known as placks and half-placks—a name derived from the *plaques* of the Continent. These last-named pieces were issued in the reign of James III. No 9, Plate 19, is a plack of James III.

In the reign of JAMES IV. (1488 to 1514) the types of the coinage were considerably modified; a three-quarter face, evidently a portrait, superseded the unmeaning head of the previous reigns, just at the same time that a similar improvement was taking place on the coinage of the cotemporary reign of Henry VII. in England.

No. 10, Plate 19, is a groat of this prince, in whose reign a groat of equal weight with the English was ordered to pass for fourteen pennies Scotch, so greatly had the Scottish penny been debased, principally by the systematic and successive issues of billon money.

Scottish gold of the unicorn type, which appears on coins of two or three sizes, has been assigned to James III.; but I have selected as an illustration one attributed to James IV. It is not certain what precise value the unicorns represented. (See Plate 8, No. 3.) A gold coin with a new type, the king, armed, on a galloping horse (see Plate 8, No. 4), was also issued by

James IV., of two or three sizes (called riders), corresponding in value with the unicorn series.

In the reign of JAMES V. (1514 to 1542), the groat of ten pennyweights two grains fine, eleven to the ounce, was ordered to pass for 18 pennies Scotch. No. 14, Plate 8, is the obverse of a groat of this reign, on which the arms are, for the first time, placed on the silver coinage, as shown at No. 15. No. 11, Plate 19, is a half-plack of the billon money of James V.

In this reign unicorns from the old dies were issued, and also new gold coins having the numeral "V" after the name, which renders their attribution certain. Gold *Crowns* were also issued at this time to pass for twenty shillings—and likewise gold pennies of several kinds; but the finest coin of the reign is the gold "Bonnet piece," so called from the cap, or beret, termed in Scotland a *bonnet*, which the king wears in his portrait on this coin, probably executed by an Italian artist. (See No. 5, Plate 8.) There were pieces of two-thirds and of one-third of this coin issued at the same time.

MARY (1542 to 1587). Of the first silver coinage of Mary, there are pieces with the queen's head, crowned (No. 16, Plate 8), the reverse having the arms, with DA PACEM DOMINE, A.D. 1553. This piece was a testoon, and probably passed for three shillings Scotch. There is also a half-testoon of the same date, having the head without a crown, as on the gold piece engraved in Plate 8, No. 6. The next type of the testoon of Mary had on the reverse an "M," crowned, between two crowned thistles, instead of the arms of Scotland. The testoons, during her marriage with Francis II. of France, have, while he was dauphin, the arms of the dauphin and those of Scotland, on a cross potent, and on the reverse the initials "F." and "M.," crowned. Another type of this period, on a billon coin, is shown at No. 14, Plate 19; it has a monograph, "F.M.," crowned, with a dolphin (*dauphin*), crowned, and an "M," crowned; and on the reverse, the motto, JAM NON SUNT DUO SED UNA CARO—"They are now, not two, but one flesh." After he became king they had the arms of France and Scotland on the same shield, as in the specimen No. 17, Plate 8. Similar coins, after the death of Francis, have the arms of France half effaced by those of Scotland on the reverse, and the portrait of the queen on the obverse, wearing a high dress frilled to the chin, and a cap similar to that still worn to denote widowhood. (See Plate 19, No. 15.)

During her union with Darnley the fine large silver royal was struck (No. 18, Plate 8), and there was also the twenty and ten-shilling piece of this coinage, of the same type. After the death of Darnley the same coins were issued with the same types, with only the omission of the word "Henry" from the legend of the obverse. The silver royal has the motto EXVRGAT, &c., afterwards adopted by Charles I.

There are several varieties of placks in the billon money of this reign. The pennies have the queen's head, in the style of the fifteenth century, with the open crown. (See Plate 19, No. 16.) There was also the "hard-head" or lion of billon, above alluded to, for its type, and called the "Non Sunt,"

from the legend of the reverse, *NON DUO*, &c. It was a coin about the size of the plack, struck soon after her marriage with Francis, while he was yet only dauphin. (Plate 19, No. 14.)

The *barbees* of Mary, as they were styled in the following reign, have the arms of Scotland and France, crowned, on the obverse. (See No. 13, Plate 19.) The billon placks and hard-heads of this reign were subsequently ordered to pass, respectively, for twopence and one penny each.

The gold coins issued in the reign of Mary, though not numerous, were of a great variety of type. They had generally the arms on the obverse, and *MARIA REGINA*, in a crowned monogram or cypher, on the reverse. (See No. 7, Plate 8.) The royal was one of the best-wrought coins of this reign, having a well-executed portrait of the queen on the obverse. (See No. 6, Plate 8.) During her marriage with Francis II., no gold was struck; but previous to her second marriage the gold crown was issued, having the arms of France half effaced by those of Scotland on the obverse, and four crowned M's, arranged as a cross, &c., on the reverse. No gold was issued during her union with Darnley.

JAMES VI. (1587 to 1625.) The first silver coins of James VI. were issued by the authority of the Lord Regent. They were thirty, twenty, and ten-shilling pieces, as before, with the arms of Scotland on one side, and a crown on the point of a sword on the other, &c.

Various other moneys of silver were coined, among which was the two-mark piece. (No. 19, Plate 8.) Up to this time the arms of Scotland, crowned, &c., formed the type of the obverse of the silver coinage of this reign; but in 1582, forty, thirty, twenty, and ten-shilling pieces were issued, having the king's portrait on the obverse. (See No. 13, Plate 8, which is a twenty-shilling piece of this coinage.) This series of money had the arms of Scotland, crowned, on the reverse. The balance-mark and half-mark, of silver, were next coined, and so named from the scales on the reverse. (See No. 10, Plate 8.)

In the beginning of the reign of James similar coins of billon, to those of Mary, were struck, consisting of groats, placks, &c., &c., of different degrees of baseness, but by various Acts made to pass for arbitrary values, all greatly above their intrinsic worth. The last billon coin that was issued was of a new kind, twenty being coined to the ounce, and to pass for fourpence each. It has also a new device. (See No. 17, Plate 19.)

By an Act, dated May 13, 1597, it was determined that, in consequence of the scarcity of small coin, there should be struck one hundred stone weight of pure copper, unmixed with any other kind of metal. This was the beginning of a true copper coinage. It was to consist of penny and twopenny pieces, each penny piece weighing one pennyweight twelve grains, and twopenny pieces weighing three pennyweights; and there were smaller coins with the king's head and title on the obverse, and the three thistles on the reverse, with *OPPIDVM EDINBVRGI*. This copper coinage was rated at considerably above its intrinsic value. It was enacted as an antidote to the fraud, that none of his Majesty's subjects should be obliged to receive in payment more than

twelve such pennies in the pound, and so on *pro rata*. These coins became eventually known as the boddle and the half-boddle.

Before his accession to the English throne, two sets of the thistle-marks (so named from the thistle on the reverse), and half-marks, and pieces of one-fourth, one-eighth, and one-sixth, were also coined; one series having the king's head, without crown, on the obverse, and the other series having simply the arms of Scotland, with the name, titles, &c. (Plate 8, No. 19.)

Of the very numerous gold coinages of James VI. previous to his accession to the English throne, it would be impossible to give a detailed account in this work. His "*Lion*" (No. 9, Plate 8) and his half-piece (No. 8, Plate 8) being the only specimens of his gold coinage as King of Scotland that I shall notice, with the exception of the fine piece of twenty pounds Scotch (Nos. 11 and 12, Plate 8), which is one of the finest coins in either the English or Scottish series. Some, however, have considered it only a pattern. All the gold coins struck for Scotland by James VI., after his accession to the English throne, are scarce.

The *sceptre*, Scotch, is a fine large coin of the size of an English double sovereign, but of the same types as No. 6, Plate 9, the disposition of the arms excepted. The crown, half-crown, &c., only differed from the English in the same details. In this reign the Scottish coins were declared current in England, as one to twelve, and the English in Scotland in the same proportion—that is, the rose royal, thirty shillings English, was to pass for eighteen pounds Scotch; the angel of ten shillings for six pounds Scotch, &c.

From henceforward the Scottish coins are classed with the English series, from which they differ but very little, except in the disposition of the arms, and the marks of the Edinburgh mint. The Scotch arms occupy the first and fourth positions in the quarterings, on the Scottish coinage, and those of England and Ireland, the second and third—while on the English coinage, the Scottish arms occupy the third quarter only. Shillings and sixpences, and crowns and half-crowns, were coined in Scotland, with only these differences from the English coin; the smaller pieces differing in a similar manner.

The Anglo-Scottish coins will in future be noticed at the end of each successive reign.



CHAPTER IX.

COINS OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

JAMES I. (1602 to 1625). The first silver coins issued by this king, soon after his accession, were crowns, half-crowns, shillings, half-shillings, two-penny pieces, pennies, and halfpennies.

On the crowns and half-crowns is a figure of the king on horseback, in a similar style to those of Edward VI.; the titles read, JACOBUS D. G. ANG. SCO. FRAN. ET HIB. REX.

On the reverse are the arms, on a garnished shield, in the usual form (and not oval, like those of Edward and Mary), and having the motto, EXURGAT DEUS DISSIPENTUR INIMICI. The arms of Scotland, and also of Ireland, were for the first time quartered with those of England and France. The Irish arms, now adopted, and now for the first time quartered with the royal arms on the coinage, are the more recent monetary type, the harp, and not the old Irish device, the three crowns.

The shillings and sixpences had the king's bust in profile, crowned, and in armour; the legend was the same as that on the crowns, but they had "XII." and "VI." behind the head, to denote their respective value. The twopenny pieces and pennies were the same, with the exception that they had the motto, ROSA SINE SPINA, and the numerals "II." and "I." respectively; the reverse having the arms without any motto. The halfpennies were like those of Elizabeth, with a cross on one side and a portcullis on the other. Shillings and sixpences, 9 ounces fine, were now coined for Ireland.

Before the issue of the second coinage the term "Great Britain" was adopted for the United Kingdom; MAG. BRIT. instead of ANG. SCO. being used on that coinage. On the reverses a new and appropriate motto, allusive to the union of the crowns, was used—QUE DEUS CONJUNXIT NEMO SEPARET. The shillings were the same as the half-crowns and crowns, with the exception of having the king's bust only, instead of the figure on horseback. The twopenny pieces had a rose on one side, and a thistle on the other, crowned, with I. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA, and TUEATUR UNITA DEUS, another allusion to the union. The pennies had the rose and thistle without the crown, with the same legends; and the halfpennies the simple rose and thistle without mottoes. These several pieces now continued to be minted without alteration till the end of the reign. There are no dates on the coins of this reign, except on sixpences—a caprice in their favour difficult to explain; but the succession of mint-marks is so complete that every issue is easily distinguished by collectors. Up to June 20, 1605, the fleur-de-lis was the mint-mark; up to July 10, 1606, another mark; till June 30, 1607, the

escallop shell; and so on, through almost every remaining year of the reign, a different mark, such as the bunch of grapes, the tower, the tun, the half-moon, &c.

Silver was exceedingly scarce during part of the reign, and the issue of a light coinage was seriously contemplated; but the scheme was happily abandoned. A good deal of silver was refined from the lead mines of Wales,—the coins made from this silver always bearing the Welsh feathers, to denote the source from which the metal had been obtained.

On the suggestions of James, many good regulations were made to prevent clipping, and other modes of debasing the coinage; and the charges of mintage were reduced, in order to tempt merchants and others to bring bullion more readily to be coined.

Specimen 1, Plate 9, is one of the half-crowns of the first coinage.

Specimen 2, Plate 9, is a shilling with the new motto, *QUÆ DEUS*, &c. The reverse has the feathers, above the crown, as being coined from the Welsh silver.

No. 3, Plate 9, exhibits both sides of a twopenny piece; No. 4, Plate 9, the rose side of a penny; and No. 5, both sides of a halfpenny.

The first gold coins of James I. were the sovereigns and half-sovereigns, having the king, in armour, holding the orb and sceptre. The reverse was the arms of England and France, with Scotland and Ireland quartered, and the motto, *EXURGAT*, &c., &c. After the coining of the units—coins of similar value—these pieces were sometimes called “sceptre units;” the late sovereigns of the above type had the more appropriate motto, *FACIAM EOS IN GENTEM UNAM*. The double-crown of ten shillings is like the half-sovereign, but has on the reverse, *HENRICUS ROSAS REGNA JACOBUS*. The British crown of five shillings was similar. The thistle-crown of four shillings had the rose of England on one side and the thistle of Scotland on the other, both crowned, and having the titles round the rose, with *TUEATUR UNITA DEUS* round the thistle. There was also a two-shilling-and-sixpenny piece, with the king's head, and *J. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA*, and on the reverse the arms, and the same motto as the last; also a crown and half-crown of similar devices, but with *TUEATUR*, &c.

The pieces coined in Scotland only differed in the quartering of the arms, those of Scotland occupying the first place. In the pieces without arms there was no distinction, except the mint-mark. In small silver pieces the thistle appears without the rose.

The pound weight of gold, $23\frac{1}{2}$ carats fine and $\frac{1}{2}$ carat alloy, was next coined into 27 rose rials at thirty shillings each, or 54 spur rials at fifteen shillings each; or it was made into 81 angels at ten shillings each. The spur rial has the king standing between the fore and mizen-masts of a ship, in armour, crowned, and holding a sword; and on his left arm is a large shield, with the arms, &c., &c. The reverse is the device of the old noble of Edward III., with the exception of the blazing sun being substituted for part of the cross, whence arose the name of the *spur* royal, from the resemblance of the rays to the rowels of a spur.

The rose rial of thirty shillings was similar to those of the preceding reigns, except that the king was arrayed in the regular parliamentary robes, and the device was executed in a more modern style of art. The motto on the reverses of the rose rial and spur rial is, A. DNO. FACTUM. EST. ISTUD. ET. TES. MIRABILE, &c. The angels of this issue bore very nearly the device of the old ones. English gold coins being found to be above the standard of those of the Continent, their value was raised by proclamation—"the sovereign, from twenty to twenty-two shillings; the double-crown, from ten to eleven shillings," and so on in proportion. At the same time regulations were made as to the rates at which foreign gold and silver, in coin and in the ingot, should be purchased. It was next arranged that the pound weight of gold of the old standard of $23\frac{1}{2}$ carats fine, should be coined into £44.

It being found that the irregular sums at which the gold coins were rated were extremely inconvenient, a new gold coinage was determined on. These coins were to be of the highest standard, now termed angel-gold. *First*, a thirty-shilling piece, having the king in his parliament robes (still called a rial), the figure finely executed in a new style, but the mottoes the same. On the reverse, the type of the old *rose rial* was abandoned for the royal arms. *Secondly*, a fifteen-shilling piece of new device, having a lion holding a shield, with the numerals XV., and the titles; and on the reverse the old device of the noble, with the "sun" of Edward IV., and the motto, A. DNO., &c. *Thirdly*, a ten-shilling piece, or angel, with the old devices of the angel and ship greatly improved, and having the royal arms on the sail; another pattern having the ship scooped out to receive a large shield with the arms. Of crown gold new units were made, having the king's head laureated in the Roman style—the first time it had been adopted on modern English coins, and for the reverse, the royal arms, crowned, and the mottoes as on the first units. These pieces were soon called "laurels." There was a ten-shilling and a five-shilling of the same pattern. Standard or angel-gold was now coined into £44 10s., and crown gold into £41.

Specimen No. 6, Plate 9, is the obverse of the first or sceptered unit, of twenty shillings.

Specimen No. 7, Plate 9, is the obverse of the rial of thirty shillings, with the figure of the king in the new style—a very fine coin.

Specimen No. 8, Plate 9, is the thistle-crown of four shillings.

Specimen No. 9, Plate 9, is the obverse of the laureated unit.

Specimens Nos. 10 and 11 are the obverse and reverse of the improved angel, the reverse having the side of the ship hollowed out to receive the arms, and the obverse having a figure of St. George, instead of the angel.

The first gold coinage of James was of the same standard as those of the last of Elizabeth—namely, the pound weight of gold of 22 carats fine and 2 alloy, to make thirty-three sovereigns and a-half at twenty shillings each. Next, the pound weight of the same gold was coined into thirty-seven units at twenty shillings each, and a thistle-crown of four shillings, because the English gold coins had long been of more value than those of other nations. They had, in fact, been exported for melting, in consequence of the true

proportion of the relative values of gold and silver not having been accurately understood in England.

The Irish coinage received some attention from James I., and in the first and second years of his reign a step was made towards restoring its intrinsic value and purity. Shillings and sixpences, 9 ounces fine to 3 ounces alloy, were issued, the base money of the previous reign being ordered to go at one-third of its original rate—the shilling for 4*d.*, &c. They were afterwards ordered to go for one-fourth—the shilling for 3*d.*, and other pieces in proportion. The first Irish shillings and sixpences of James have for type the portrait of the king in armour, in the style of the English shillings of this reign; and for reverse, the Irish harp, crowned: they were well executed. On the first issues the legend on the obverse is, JACOBUS D. G. ANG. SCO. FRA. ET. HIB. REX.; but on the later, after the words “Great Britain” had been substituted in all official documents for England and Scotland, MAG. BRIT., for “Magnæ Britanniae,” superseded ANG. SCO., &c., on the Irish coinage as well as the English. The legend, HENRICUS ROSAS REGNA JACOBUS, is adopted on the reverses of the later pieces, instead of the EXURGAT DEUS, &c., of the earlier ones. In this reign copper farthings were issued for Ireland, as well as England, having for device of the obverse, a sword and sceptre crossed, behind a crown, and the crowned harp for reverse; the legend of the obverse being IACO D. G. MAG. BRI., and the reverse, FRA. ET HIB. REX. (See No. 3, Plate 22.) In 1617, Fynes Moryson, in his *Itinerary*, tells us that “the Irish groat was called a *dominus*, from the title of the King of England; the brass pence,” he says, “were called *harpers*, and the brass farthings, *smulkins*.”

CHARLES I. (1625 to 1649). A coinage was soon issued in this reign of the same purity and weight as those of the last; namely, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ grains to the silver penny, which had been eight grains in the beginning of Elizabeth, but was reduced to the above weight late in her reign. It is remarkable that during the gradual waste of Charles's resources in the civil wars, no debasement in the coinage took place; the very rudest of the coins, and even his siege pieces, being of the proper purity and weight.

The first silver coins of this reign were of the same value and denomination as those of James: crowns, half-crowns, shillings, half-shillings, twopennies, pennies, and halfpennies. The four large pieces had CAROLUS D. G. MAG. BRIT. FRA. ET. HIB. REX. round a well-executed bust of the king, and for reverse the royal arms, as in the last reign, but with the motto, CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO. The pennies and halfpennies were like those of James, except that they had the rose on both sides, with C. D. G. ROSA SINE SPINA on the obverse, and JUS. THRONUM. FIRMAT—“Justice strengthens a throne,” on the reverse. These pennies, &c., were soon followed by others having the king's bust, and by twopenny pieces of the same device, the twopennies having the numerals II. and the pennies I. On the reverse they had the oval shield, with JUSTITIA THRONUM FIRMAT for legend. The oval shield, somewhat ornamented, was soon after adopted for the larger pieces also, with sometimes “C. R.” on either side. The shillings and sixpences of this pattern represent

the king in the dress of the day, and three changes of fashion may be traced in them. He is first seen in the stiff ruff, much like that of the reigns of Elizabeth and James; then in a limber or falling one; and, lastly, in a simple falling collar, edged with lace, as we see him in most of his portraits by Vandyke. On some of the pieces of his early coinages he appears in his parliamentary robes; but eventually both these styles disappeared, and he was constantly represented in armour, but with the falling lace collar. The crowns and half-crowns have pretty constantly the figure of the king on horseback, in armour; but the whole coinage of the reign is extremely irregular, both in design and execution, and an immense number of trifling variations occur—far too numerous to allude to in detail within the limits of this volume.

None of the pieces coined in the Tower were dated, but the mint-marks afford sure indications of their dates. To January, 1625, they are marked with the trefoil; to January, 1626, with the fleur-de-lis; and so on. This refers especially to the London coinage; but in this reign there were extensive coinages of silver in various parts of the kingdom, even before the troubles. The coins of the York mint are very beautifully executed, and have a lion passant guardant for mint-mark, also EBOR. (EBORACI). It is supposed that the York mint was established when Strafford was president of the north, and some money was probably coined when the king was at York, during his magnificent progress to Scotland. There was also a permanent mint established in his thirteenth year at Aberystwith, for refining and coining the silver produced from the Welsh lead mines, the coins of which may be known by the Welsh feathers. The coins of this reign, which are milled at the edge, were produced by the mill and screw, under the direction of Nicholas Briot, who had been chief engraver of the French moneys. His coins may be known by the letter "B" upon them; but their chief merit consists in the neatness of their mechanical execution, the engravings of other artists of the time being more spirited. M. Le Blanc, author of the "*Traité Historique des Monnoyes de France*," says, speaking of Briot's residence in England, "On ne manqua pas se servir de ses machines, et de faire par son moyen les plus belles monnoyes du monde." He also coined money for Charles I. in Scotland, and afterwards returned to France, where certain regulations were altered which had caused him to leave that country in disgust. His departure probably prevented the permanent establishment of the mill and screw in England at that time. During his stay he prepared many patterns, which never came into circulation, and these are much prized in cabinets from their rarity.

In the year 1642, when the king was at Nottingham, just about the breaking out of the civil war, he received as a loan from the universities nearly all their plate, which was to be repaid at so much per ounce for the white silver, and so much extra for the gilt silver. Some of this was disposed of in its original form, to be sold for the pay of the troops; and so much of it as was coined, says Mr. Folkes, was minted probably at York. The king soon after removed to Shrewsbury, where the master of the Welsh mint, Mr.

Bushell, was ordered to join the king, and money was coined there, but with what particular mark is unknown—probably the Welsh feathers. Little, however, was done; for Clarendon says, "It was indeed more for reputation than use, as, in the absence of sufficient workmen and instruments, they could not coin a thousand pounds a-week."

After the defeat of Edgehill, the king removed the mint of Aberystwith to Oxford, to coin there, in the New Inn Hall, under the direction of Mr. Bushell and Sir William Parkhurst, all the remaining plate of the colleges. In this mint there appears to have been coined a large quantity of money, both of gold and silver; and as it was still considered the Welsh mint, although removed, the Welsh mark of the feathers was continued. The money now struck at Oxford did not differ materially in design from that previously coined; there are, however, several varieties of types; and the execution of the dies is of various degrees of excellence; some of very mean workmanship, and others very excellent.

The silver twenty-shilling and ten-shilling pieces are peculiar to this mint and to this period; for no other such pieces occur in the annals of the English coinage. The best executed of these twenty-shilling pieces is a very noble coin, having the king on horseback, crowned, and in armour, the horse trampling upon arms and trophies, surrounded by the usual titles; the reverse has the motto, EXURGAT DEUS, &c., with RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANG. LIBER. PAR., dated 1644, alluding to his declaration at the breaking out of the war, that he would protect "*the Protestant religion, the laws and liberties of his subjects, and the privileges of parliament.*" There is also a very beautiful crown of this mint, with a view of the city, seen beneath the horse, and the word OXON above it. The smaller pieces had the king's head as previously; but the reverses were like those of the great twenty-shilling piece described above. Some of the half-shillings and groats have an open book as mint-mark.

This coining down of the plate of the colleges caused the barbarous destruction of many rare and interesting relics of the highest antiquity; but such are the inevitable consequences of civil war; for, in 1644, the Commons House of Parliament, with equal recklessness, ordered all the king's plate in the Tower to be melted down and coined, notwithstanding a remonstrance from the Lords, alleging that the curious workmanship of the ancient pieces was worth more than the metal; and on many occasions during the most disastrous fortunes of the king, in the latter part of the civil war, when his partizans were in like manner under the necessity of striking money in a rude manner, by coining down their own plate for the relief of their men, many magnificent family monuments perished, as national ones had done by the sacrifices at Oxford and at the Tower.

No. 12, Plate 9, is one of the early half-crowns of this reign, showing the horse clothed in rich heavy housings, similar to that shown on the crowns of Edward IV. and James I., which were afterwards abandoned for a merely decorative saddle-cloth on the later coins of Charles. The motto has the king's titles as previously stated; the reverse has the old shield, &c., with the motto, CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO.

No. 13, Plate 9, is one of the early shillings. No. 5, Plate 10, is the reverse of a sixpence, after the adoption of the oval shield. No. 6, Plate 10, is a reverse of a half-crown, dated 1645, the arms enclosed in the garter, and supported by the lion and unicorn, and has doubtless formed the model of some of our recent half-crowns.

No. 6½, Plate 10, is a twopenny piece of this coinage, having the bust and oval shield, the motto of the reverse being *CHRISTO AUSPICE REGNO*.

No. 4, Plate 9, is the obverse of a rose halfpenny of the Welsh mint. It has the feathers for the reverse.

The early twopenny pieces had the crowned roses previously mentioned.

No. 16, Plate 9, is an Oxford twenty-shilling silver piece, showing the horse without the housings in which he is clothed on the earlier pieces; No. 17, the Oxford crown, with a view of the city; No. 4, Plate 9, the Oxford shilling, showing the king in armour, and mottoes, as previously described; No. 10½, Plate 9, an Oxford penny; No. 11, Plate 10, a siege piece of Newark, having *OBS. NEWARK*, 1646, on the reverse, partly covered by a countermark, the royal arms; No. 18, Plate 10, a siege piece of Pontefract, with the castle, and *OBS. P. C.*, 1648; and on the reverse, *DUM SPIRO SPERO*.

The first Scottish coinage of silver of Charles I. consisted of crowns and half-crowns, which so closely resemble those of his father, except in the name in the legend, that they do not require description. But the pieces coined by the celebrated Briot, whom he took into Scotland for that purpose, and which are much more minutely finished in execution, must not be passed without notice: they consist of crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences. A second series, also by Briot, issued near the same time, and exhibit little difference in the types, except that the portrait extends quite to the lower edge of the coin.

There were also issued some coins of more especially Scottish character. These were the small silver pieces, of about the size of an English silver penny, but of the value of twenty-pence Scotch, having the king's head and *XX.* on the obverse, and the crowned thistle on the reverse.

The two-shilling piece, Scotch, was of about the size of the twenty-penny piece, but had the arms of Scotland, crowned, for reverse, instead of the thistle. The noble, or half-mark, had the head and title as usual on the obverse, and the arms of Scotland, &c., on the reverse, with $\frac{vi}{8}$, to denote the value, 6s. 8d. Scottish money. The piece is about the size of the English sixpence, and was, as well as all these coins, the work of Briot.

It was ordered, in this reign, that the term "Irish money" should be abolished, and that hereafter all accounts should be kept in sterling or English money.

No silver money was issued in regular form, for Ireland, by Charles I.; but when the troubles commenced, an irregular coinage was struck in Dublin, known as the "Inchinguin money," made from the plate subscribed and sent in deference to the royal proclamation, encouraging loyal subjects to send in their plate to be coined in aid of the government. This was

hastily coined into crowns, half-crowns, ninepences, sixpences, and groats, with no type or legend, except the numerals indicating the weight.

This kind of irregular money of Charles I. has generally been classed with his obsessional, or siege money; but it may be more correctly termed "money of necessity," and may be easily distinguished from that more correctly termed "siege money," by the absence of the letters OBS., for "Obsessa" (besieged), generally found on the true siege pieces.

The following specimens will be found sufficient to illustrate the character of both these classes of irregular coinage:—

No. 18, Plate 9, is the reverse of a shilling siege piece of Pontefract Castle. The inscription reads, OBS. P. C., 1648. The OBS. for "Obsessa" (besieged), and P. C. for Pontefract Castle (?).

Nos. 7 and 8, Plate 10, are the obverse and reverse of silver pennies, struck in Ireland during the civil war.

No. 9 is a sixpence struck at Cork in 1647.

No. 10 shows both the obverse and reverse of a three-shilling piece, struck during the siege of Carlisle in 1645, as indicated by the legend OBS. CARL.

Nos. 12 and 13 are a fourpenny and a sixpenny piece, apparently of the same coinage as Nos. 7 and 8.

No. 14 is one of the shillings hastily struck in the Castle of Dublin, in January, 1642, by order of the Lords of the Council, as referred to above, and having only the numerals denoting the weight, as 3 dwt. 21 grs., and no other device or legend.

Nos. 3 and 4, Plate 20, exhibit the obverse and reverse of a crown piece, struck in the Castle of Dublin, in 1642, after the king's consent had been obtained for that coinage, and consequently bearing the royal crown and initials. The cross on the reverse would apparently indicate that it was struck from silver furnished by the Church; probably the Catholic Church in Ireland.

No. 2, Plate 20, is a shilling marked XII., dated 1645, with OBS. CARL., showing that it was one of the pieces struck for the king, by Sir Thomas Glemham, at Carlisle; it is of nearly the same types as No. 10.

No. 1, Plate 20, is a crown piece, with "V. S." for five shillings, in a small circle, evidently very hastily struck, as there is no device whatever on the other side.

No. 5, Plate 20, is one of the shillings struck for the king at Cork in 1647.

Nos. 6 and 7, Plate 20, are the obverse and reverse of a shilling, struck during the siege of Newark, but not countermarked like the one previously described.

Nos. 9 and 10, Plate 20, are shillings rudely struck upon pieces of plate hastily cut into squares, and stamped with a coarse representation of a castle, and generally believed to be Colchester.

No. 8, Plate 20, is a piece of plate stamped with "V. S.," to pass as five shillings, and also with a representation of a castle. It is assigned to Scar-

borough. The mouldings of the piece of plate, probably a large salver, remain at one side of this piece.

Nos. 11 and 12, Plate 20, are the obverse and reverse of a shilling struck at Pontefract, in the royal cause, after the death of the king. The legend being POST MORTEM PATRIS PRO FILIO. Previous pieces struck at this place had, as described, the motto DVM SPIRO SPERO.

No. 13, Plate 20, is a rude octagonal siege piece, generally attributed to Colchester. The motto—CAROLI FORTUNA RESURGAM—indicating that it was struck during some favourable turn in the affairs of the royal cause, towards the end of the civil war.

In order to give the student a more complete idea of the nature of "siege pieces," and other "money of necessity," a brief account of some of the most remarkable continental examples of money of this description will be found at the end of this chapter.

Of the irregular coins and siege pieces of this reign, above described, there is a great variety, both of gold and silver; yet some have doubted the authenticity of the whole of it, on account of the silence of cotemporary documents; but of the pieces of Pontefract Sir H. Ellis has recently discovered the cotemporary notice required. It is contained in a newspaper of the time—*The Kingdom's Faithful and Impartial Scout*, February 5th, 1648: in which some of the square Pontefract shillings, found on a royalist prisoner by the republicans, are described as being stamped on one side with a castle, and the letters "P. O.," and on the other with a crown, having "C. R." on each side of it: a perfectly correct description, with the exception of mistaking the C for O, which does, in fact, in some specimens appear nearly round. Other siege pieces of Charles are engraved in Plate 20, and at the end of this reign will be found an account of similar siege pieces, struck in other countries.

The gold coinage of this reign is not various. The fine old sovereigns, or rials, with the king enthroned, as also the nobles, were finally abandoned after the beginning of the reign; but a small coinage of angels was issued, similar to those of James I., with the arms on the sail.

The principal coins in the early part of the reign were—the unit, or broad piece (twenty shillings), with its half and quarter; first with the old garnished shield, and subsequently with the oval shield; some having on the reverse the motto, FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA; others, CULTORES SUI DEUS PROTEGIT; the largest of these pieces had XX. behind the head, the next X., and the smallest V., to indicate their respective values.

The gold pieces struck at Oxford were three pounds, pounds, and ten-shilling pieces, having a head of the king very meanly executed, holding the olive branch as well as the sword, and having on the reverse the motto, EXURGAT, &c., and RELIG. PRO., &c. Coins of this pattern are popularly called the "exurgat money."

The large piece of three pounds had the numerals III. on the reverse, the lesser pieces XX. and X. respectively, behind the head. The ten-shilling pieces are without the olive branch and sword of the larger ones. Space will not allow me to give specimens of the largest Oxford piece with the olive

branch, which is, as stated, very poor in execution; but No. 3, Plate 10, is a reverse of one of the twenty-shilling pieces.

No. 1, Plate 10, is the first gold unit with the oval shield.

No. 19, Plate 9, is a quarter unit with the oval shield; and No. 2, Plate 10, a quarter unit with the old shield.

The first Scottish gold coins of Charles were the fine "*sceptres*," similar in types and style to those of his father—being unlike any of his English gold—and in fact a finer gold coin than any he ever issued in England. This remark applies especially to those of the second issue, executed by Briot, which have the motto, *HIS. PRÆSUM VT PROSIM* on the reverse. This "*sceptre*" was coined as a £12 piece, Scotch, but probably passed, on account of its weight, at £13 13s. There was an issue in Scotland of gold crowns, half-crowns, &c., very similar to those of James I.: these are inferior to the series executed by Briot.

In the beginning of this reign copper farthings were issued for Ireland, in virtue of the patent granted to the Duchess Dowager of Richmond. The types are the same as those of James I. A farthing, issued in virtue of the patent granted to Henry Lord Maltravers and Sir F. Crane, differed in having a rose instead of the harp on the reverse.

The copper coinage was continued in Scotland—twopenny pieces becoming known as "*Turners*," from their analogy with the *Gros Tournois* of the Continent; and it was enacted that they should, in consequence of their lightness—not being above half the weight of those struck by James previous to his accession to the English throne—only pass for one penny. An act was afterwards proposed, but rejected, which would have reduced them to one halfpenny. They were not, in reality, worth above one farthing English, the Scottish penny having, in fact, become a distinct coin from that of England. An example of the Scotch twopenny piece of Charles I. is engraved in Plate 19, No. 18.

New proclamations were issued in this reign against private farthing tokens of copper or lead, circulating in England; but no good remedy was applied to the inconvenience which called them into existence, though the privilege of making authorized farthings was granted to the Duchess of Richmond and others for seventeen years: the farthings made under these patents being below their intrinsic value, and causing endless discontent and disturbance. A pattern for a farthing of full size was made by Briot, but not issued. (See Plate 22, No. 5.)

In the reign of Charles I. pieces were coined for circulation in New England by Lord Baltimore, who was privileged to strike money for circulation in that colony; and other pieces were afterwards issued of the same class. Those with the portrait of Lord Baltimore were issued either during the Commonwealth or in the reign of Charles II.

Charles, with a natural love of art, took great interest in the devices of his coinage; and when Briot returned to France, he advanced Thomas Rawlins, who had been associated with the French engraver in preparing his dies, to the office of his chief engraver. On the breaking

out of the war in 1642, Rawlins followed the fortunes of the king, and engraved in the camp many of the hastily executed dies for "striking the money of necessity," and probably several of the "siege pieces." He is known to have engraved the rude Kinton medal, and also several of very good workmanship, among which may be named the Oxford crown of 1645. The die of the celebrated pattern for a £5 gold piece was probably engraved by Rawlins, among other work executed at Oxford. The king preserved the pattern piece from this die to the last; and when on the scaffold, wishing to present some small memorial as a memento to Bishop Juxon, who had administered to him the last offices of religion, he found that his earthly possessions had dwindled to that single gold piece, and he gave it as the only gift he had left to bestow. The coining of that piece had probably been one of his last acts of sovereignty, and he had possibly clung to it on that account, as vividly recalling his last days of power. The piece was preserved as an heirloom in the bishop's family for several generations, and at last found its way into the celebrated collection of Mr. Cuff. At the sale of that cabinet the possession of this interesting historical monument was keenly contested, the biddings rapidly rising till a nod from an agent of the British Museum brought the price up to 250 guineas. It was not destined, however, to go to the national collection; for that sum reached the extreme limit to which the agent for the museum was authorized to go. And the present possessor, bidding at once ten guineas more, secured the coveted prize without further opposition, at the price of 260 guineas. The account of the sale in the newspapers, accompanied as it was with a graphic description of the different bidders for the celebrated £5 piece, excited so much curiosity, that the entrance of the quiet abode of its fortunate possessor was soon besieged with applicants anxious to obtain a sight of it. Bevy of ladies, young and old, tripped from their carriages, and crowding up the staircases, filled the little treasure room of the new proprietor, who, while glorying in the addition to his cabinet, soon became terrified at the kind of publicity into which he felt himself being dragged; and had not other and newer attractions drawn off the tide of public curiosity in some other direction, he would, doubtless, in self-defence, have packed off his treasure to the first numismatic sale, to get rid of the nuisance which its possession seemed likely to entail. This piece has, on the obverse, the portrait of the king, rather "wiry" in execution, but an excellent likeness. On the reverse are the royal arms, on a very highly-raised oval shield, with the motto, so singularly inappropriate on the coinage of Charles, FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA. Rawlins appears still to have followed his calling as an engraver after the fall of the unfortunate king, though without any official appointment; and he lived to see the expulsion of another Stuart from the throne of England, as we find him engraving tokens for the Mayor of Oxford as late as 1692; and his initial, "R," is found on the farthing tokens of Oxford and Gloucester.

FOREIGN SIEGE PIECES.

As examples of foreign siege pieces of analogous character to those of the civil wars of Charles I. and the parliament, I have engraved the following:—

No. 1, Plate 21, is a gold ducat struck by Charles Duke of Sundermania, in 1598, during the war with Sigismund III., King of Poland. It has for type a wheat-sheaf (the arms of Vasa), and the letters C. D. S., for “*Carolus Dux Sundermaniæ*.” The reverse has the name of Jehovah, in Hebrew characters, with a glory, and on the corners the numerals 1.5.8.9., the date, 1589. Silver was struck at the same time, which had “C. D. S.” under a coronet, and the letters “I. M.,” for one mark, on the obverse.

No. 2, Plate 21, was struck in the war against John Frederick, the elector, by Duke Maurice of Saxony, chief of the Protestant League of Germany, in 1547, and an ancestor of the present royal family of England. The elector having laid siege to Leipsic, the duke was compelled to strike obsidional money to pay the troops during the siege, which was, however, raised on the arrival of the emperor. This gold piece is very neatly executed. On the obverse are the arms of Saxony, and MORI-HER. Z. S., for “*Morizts Hertzog zu Sachsen*” (Maurice Duke of Saxony); and on the reverse the arms of Leipsic, and HER. HANS. FRID. BELEGERT LEIPZIG. MENSE. IAN. AN. MDXLVII, for “*Hertzog Hans Friderick Belegert Leipzig, Mense Januarii, Anno MDXLVII*” (The Duke John Frederick, besieged Leipsic in the month of January, 1547).

No. 9, Plate 21, is a copper piece struck by Gustavus I., of Sweden. After his escape from the fortress in which he was imprisoned by Christian II., King of Denmark, he succeeded in raising the Swedish spirit of independence, and was eventually declared king after driving Christian from the kingdom. The portrait of Gustavus, a half-figure in armour, occupies the obverse of this piece, and on the reverse “G,” the initial of his name, and three crowns, the arms of Sweden, and two arrows, the arms of Dalecarlia, where he first raised the standard of revolt. Some of these coins have the legend ERICSON (after the Swedish manner, as Son of Eric); which inscription, by a blunder of the engraver, reads backwards.

No. 3, Plate 21, is a siege piece, struck during the well-known siege of Vienna by the Turks, in 1529. The Vaivode of Transylvania, son of Stephen Tapolski, became a pretender to the throne of Hungary, to the prejudice of the Archduke Ferdinand; and calling to his assistance the formidable Soliman II., a numerous Turkish army laid siege to Vienna. After a general assault had failed, the Duke of Bavaria, commander of the Austrian troops, determined to attack the enemy’s camp, which he did so unexpectedly and so successfully that 40,000 of the enemy are said to have been destroyed, and the siege was raised. The coin under description was struck during the siege, and has on the obverse the portrait of the Emperor Ferdinand, with the date 1529; and on the reverse, the arms of Austria. This piece is gold, but at the same time pieces, both of silver and lead, of similar character, were issued, few of them, however, having the bust of the

emperor. No. 10 is a lead coin struck during the siege, with the inscription TVRK BELEGERT WIEN—"The Turks besieged Vienna."

No. 4, Plate 21, is a silver piece struck in the French fortress town of Landau, during the siege of the place by the imperialists in 1702. During its blockade by Prince Louis of Baden, and the King of the Romans, between the 19th of June and the 9th of September, these well-known siege pieces were struck. Though Landau was strongly fortified by Vauban in 1681, the counterscarp was stormed on the nights of the 14th and 15th of August; and, on the 9th of September, further advantages having been obtained, the governor and garrison, of 3,000 men, were compelled to surrender. This irregular piece is stamped to pass for four livres and four sols, and bears the name of Landau, and the date, with the arms of the governor, the Count de Linange, under whose direction this siege money was struck.

No. 10, Plate 21, is a piece struck by Marshal Turenne, from his own plate, when before St. Venant, on the frontiers of Flanders, which he retook from the Spaniards three days after opening the trenches. This is not an obsidional or siege piece, as it was struck by the besiegers and not the besieged; it is classed, therefore, under the head of "money of necessity." The inscription is fully descriptive of its origin and purport. It is also stamped with the fleur-de-lis of France.

No. 5, Plate 21, is a siege piece struck in the town of Osnaburg, besieged by the Swedes, from June to September, 1633, under the command of Gustavus Gustavson. The Count of Warlemburg, Bishop of Osnaburg, quitted the town in the beginning of the siege, leaving orders to coin all his plate into money to pay the garrison. The place surrendered to the Swedes on the 1st of September. The piece under description has, on the side engraved, a figure of St. Peter, wearing a triple crown, supporting the arms of Osnaburg, of Bavaria, and of the Palatinate. This piece weighs nearly an ounce.

No. 6, Plate 21. During the war of independence in the Low Countries, the Spaniards, commanded by the Marquis of Spinola, unexpectedly laid siege to the strong town of Breda, the garrison of which was commanded by Justin of Nassau, a natural son of the Prince of Orange. The place was defended with the greatest obstinacy, and the citizens, after giving up all their coin to pay the troops, afterwards gave their plate, to which was added, that of all the officers of the garrison. The place, however, not being relieved, was surrendered on the 5th of July in the same year—the garrison marching out with the honours of war. This copper piece was made to pass for two sols, as indicated by the Roman numerals II. The small shield of arms are those of the town, and the legend is simply BREDA OBSESSEA. There are large silver pieces of forty sols, having the Belgian lion on the obverse, and some have the arms of Prince Maurice, as seigneur, or lord of Breda.

No. 7, Plate 21, is a siege piece struck by the citizens of Campen, in 1578, from their family plate, to pay the Spanish garrison, in order to preserve themselves and families from the insolence of the soldiery, who

were eventually obliged to surrender the place to the Dutch general, Count Nunnenberg, after a long siege.

That the inhabitants were drained of their last resource by the wants of the hostile garrison they had to supply, is shown by the inscription on this piece, *EXTREMUM SUBSIDIUM CAMPENSE*—"The last resource of Campen." The piece is silver, and the mark $x\frac{1}{2}$ ST. shows that it passed for ten styvers and a-half.

No. 8, Plate 21. During the siege of Magdeburgh, in 1551, which was defended by the Protestant League against the Emperor Charles V., the inhabitants were compelled to coin all their silver plate for the purposes of the defence, which was conducted with the greatest bravery. On the night of the 15th of November they made a brilliant sortie, in which the enemy's cavalry was totally defeated, and George Duke of Mecklenburg, one of the imperial commanders, taken prisoner. Nevertheless, being pressed by hunger and reduced to the last extremity, they were eventually compelled to surrender the place—upon apparently very hard terms—but with a secret clause that they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion. This siege piece, of which both sides are engraved, is of gold, and has a figure of St. Maurice, the patron saint of the cathedral, on the obverse and reverse, and the letters S. M., for "*Sanctus Mauritius*."

No. 11, Plate 21, is a coin struck during the memorable siege of Pavia by Francis I. The French king having entered Italy with an army of 40,000 men, and taken Milan, laid siege to Pavia, which was defended by one of the most skilful of the imperialist generals, Antonio de Leva. The garrison having mutinied for want of pay, he converted his own plate into money for them, and when that resource was exhausted, he obtained the silver plate and ornaments of the church; but the German garrison having a third time demanded pay, De Leva caused his own private jewels of gold to be coined into money, and the present example was coined from that source. It bears the initial letters of Antonio Leva, "A. L.," and the date 1524. Some of the silver pieces have C.E.S. P.P. OB., for "*Cessareis Papiæ Obsessis*," (The imperialists besieged in Pavia), with the same date 1524. The famous battle of Pavia was fought under the walls, in which Francis himself was taken prisoner, and carried to Madrid.

CHAPTER X.

COINS OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND OF THE PROTECTOR CROMWELL.

THE Commonwealth (1648 to 1660), with the energetic Cromwell as its directing genius, proceeded at once to effect great changes in the coinage. The loyal Folkes, however, makes no place in his account of the British coinage for the monetary proceedings of the Commonwealth, but includes all the money of that period in his account of the coinage of Charles II. The royal arms were thrown aside in the republican coinage, and the simple cross of St. George, as the suitable badge of Puritanical England, was adopted. It was placed within a palm and an olive branch, and had for legend, in good plain English—Latin legends being objected to as unnational—THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND. On the reverse were two joined shields, one bearing the cross of St. George, the other the harp of Ireland, and the motto, also in English, GOD WITH US, and the date; that of the first being 1649. Sir Robert Harley, who had formerly been master of the mint for the late king, though he had accepted a re-appointment from the parliament, yet refused to carry into effect this innovation in the types of the coins; and Aaron Guerdain, doctor of physic, was appointed in his place, under whose direction the change was effected.

The issue consisted of crowns, half-crowns, shillings, and half-shillings, and pieces of twopence, a penny, and a halfpenny. The larger pieces all bore the same devices, with the exception of being marked with Roman numerals to indicate their value. The smaller pieces had no mottoes, and the halfpenny had simply the cross on the one side and the harp on the other.

On the perfect restoration of tranquillity, and the cooling down of the national mind from the turmoil and excitement of the civil war, towards 1651, Cromwell tried to avail himself of all the most recent improvements in coining, already adopted by several continental nations. He determined that in beauty of mechanical execution the coins of this nation should not be behind any in the world; and Pierre Blondeau, a Frenchman, an artist who had carried to perfection the most approved modes of stamping coin by the mill and screw, was invited to England.

On his arrival he produced patterns of half-crowns, shillings, and half-shillings, coined by the new mill and screw, by which means, with the aid of a collar, a legend was impressed for the first time upon the edge.

Blondeau's first pattern half-crown bore on the edge TRUTH AND PEACE, 1651, PETRUS BLONDEUS; another, IN THE THIRD YEARE OF FREEDOME BY

GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED, "no less artfully impressed," as Folkes quaintly informs his readers. The shillings and sixpences were beautifully grained on the edges, and the pieces were brought to their true weight with the utmost exactness. It is thought that the devices of these pieces were designed and executed by Simon, Blondeau only having to do with the mechanical production of the coining from Simon's dies. A specimen of this pattern sold, in 1838, for £8 5s. An engagement was immediately entered into with Blondeau to work these pieces, which bore the usual device of the Commonwealth. But no issue was ever made of them; they can therefore only be considered as patterns, and are very rare. The established workers of the mint also sent in fresh rival patterns, one designed by David Ramage had the double shield, supported by winged figures, with the motto, GUARDED BY ANGELES. In the end, the opposition of the existing functionaries in the mint, frustrated the plans of Blondeau, who was prevented from carrying into effect his projected reforms; an interesting paper on which subject will be found in the Transactions of the Numismatic Society. The screw process was, however, adopted, though without the immediate aid of Blondeau, who appears to have been ill used.

In the latter part of the protectorate, after his second solemn investiture, Cromwell caused coins to be executed bearing his bust; but it is supposed that few, if any, were issued, as coins of the old type of the same date are much more numerous; they must therefore be regarded as patterns. They are exceedingly well executed by the screw process, and have the laureated bust of the protector, with OLIVAR. D. G. R. P. ANG. SCO. ET. HIB. ETC. PRO., his assumed title, "Protector of the Republic of England, Scotland, and Ireland," substituting ETC. for France. The bust is the work of the celebrated Simon, and most beautifully executed, in a manner far superior in point of art to anything that had ever before been seen upon an English coin. The crowns and half-crowns are indeed most remarkable medals, as regards both the engraver's and the coiner's art; and extravagant prices are given by collectors for good specimens of them. The reverses have a crowned shield, on which are quartered the republican arms of England (the cross), with the cross of Scotland and the harp of Ireland, and in the centre, his own paternal arms on an escutcheon, the legend being PAX QUÆRITUR BELLO. These crowns and half-crowns have, beautifully impressed on the edge, the legend HAS. NISI. PERITVRVS. MIHI. ADIMAT. NEMO. The shillings and sixpences of the same types are very neatly grained. They also were the best executed coins of their class that had ever issued from the English, or perhaps any foreign mint.

There were a few ninepenny pieces struck, as patterns, which have become so rare that, in 1838, a specimen was sold for £4 16s.

The silver standard adopted by the Commonwealth was 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine, and 18 dwts. alloy. Specimen No. 15, Plate 10, is the first half-crown of the Commonwealth. No. 21, Plate 10, is the half-crown with the bust of the protector. No. 20, Plate 10, is the reverse of the pattern for a half-

crown, prepared for the ordinary workers of the mint in rivalry with Blondeau, by David Ramage.

The gold coins bore the same devices and mottoes as the silver ones, and were simply twenty-shilling, ten, and five-shilling pieces; the twenty-shilling pieces contained 3 dwts. 20 grs., of 22 carats gold. No. 17, Plate 10, is the reverse of one of the first twenty-shilling pieces. No. 22, Plate 10, is a later one, with the bust of the protector, which is not near so good a likeness or so well executed as those on the silver pieces. On the *gold* coin the bust is represented without drapery—a distinction subsequently adopted in succeeding coinages up to George III., with the exception of those of Queen Anne, who somewhat fastidiously objected on the score of delicacy. Some few of her gold coins nevertheless exist without the drapery; but they are probably only suppressed patterns. The twenty-shilling piece of the protector appears smaller than previous ones, in consequence of being much thicker, the milled pieces becoming generally smaller and thicker than the previous hammered ones, or *broad pieces*, as they were termed, after the issue of the thicker money coined by the mill and screw process.

The trials of copper farthings were again repeated during the Commonwealth, but it is supposed were never issued, though many patterns were made. No. 18, Plate 10, is one of the patterns, and the following specimen (No. 19) another of the reverses, which appeared on different patterns; the legend round the head was, like most other Commonwealth coins, in English, and reads, OLIVER PRO. ENG. SCO. AND. IRE. Some of the reverses had CONVENIENT CHANGE; others, a ship, symbolizing "the State," with the motto, GOD DIRECT OUR COURSE. No. 19 had three columns, being respectively symbolical of England, Scotland, and Ireland, united by a twisted band, with the motto, THUS UNITED INVINCIBLE; another had CHARITY AND CHANGE. The only mint during the Commonwealth and Protectorate was that of the Tower of London. These farthings were intended to supersede the great numbers of private tokens in circulation, which, during the civil wars, had increased to an enormous extent, to be noticed in the reign of Charles II.

No coins appear to have been struck in Scotland during the Commonwealth.

In Ireland, during the troubled part of the reign of Charles I., and also during the Commonwealth, great numbers of town tokens were struck, as in England. These pieces resembled the English in their general style. It would appear that an attempt had been made to supersede them, as in England, by the issue of a copper coin by the government; specimens being known of a copper farthing, thought to have been struck at that time, having on the obverse the arms of the Commonwealth, and on the reverse, A CORKE FARTHING. (No. 20, Plate 18.)

The pattern farthings of the Protectorate are much sought after by collectors, and some of the most rare fetch high prices whenever they are brought to the hammer. A pattern, with ENGLAND'S FARTHING FOR NECESSARY CHANGE, was sold in 1838 for £2 9s.; and one, with the head of Cromwell on the obverse, and CHARITIE AND CHANGE on the reverse, for £8 12s.

CHAPTER XI.

COINS OF CHARLES II., JAMES II., WILLIAM AND MARY, AND WILLIAM III.

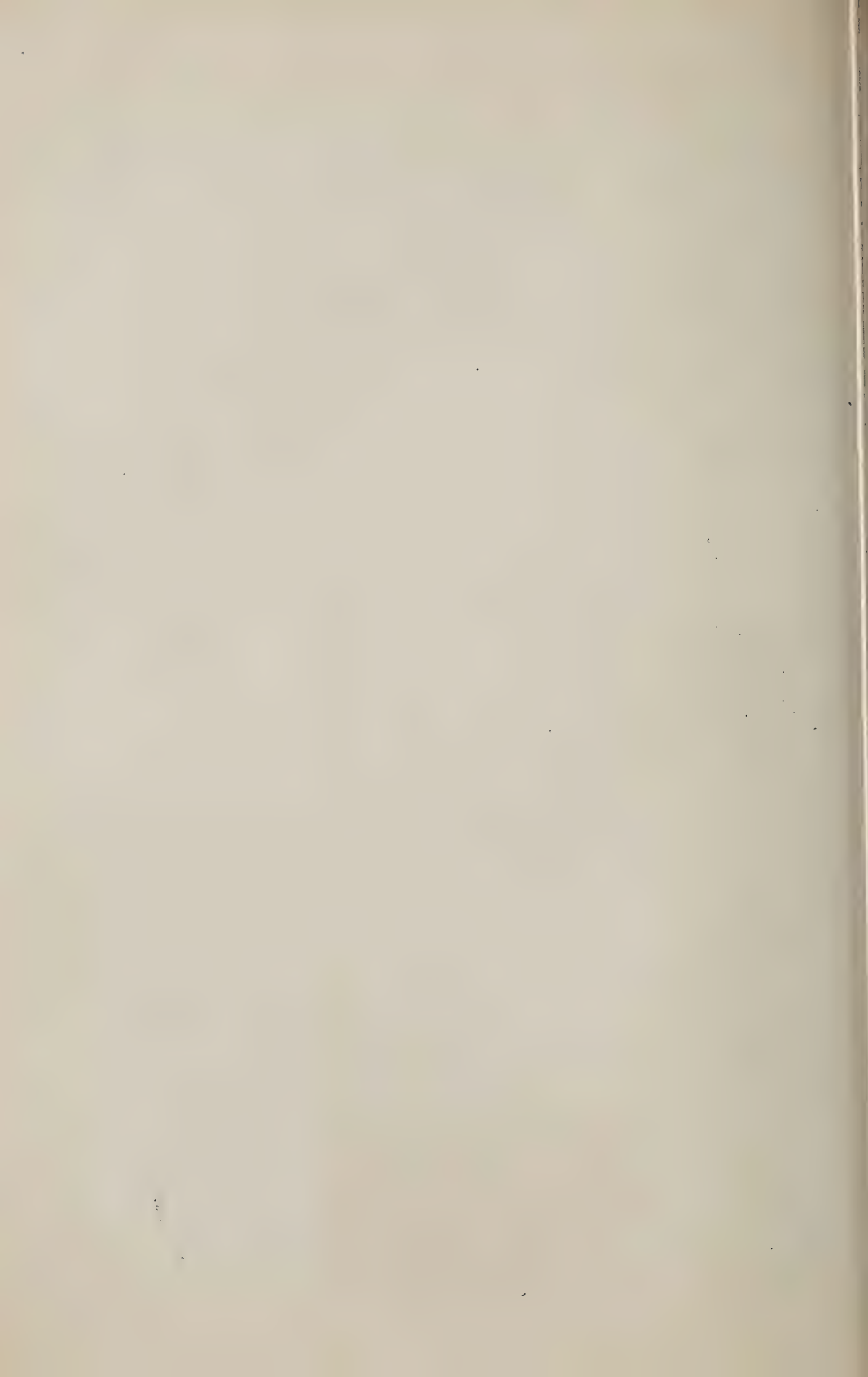
CHARLES II. (1660 to 1684). On his accession in the year 1660, there were issued silver coins, from half crowns downwards, with the exception of groats and quarter-shillings, which were soon after added. They were, with a view perhaps of restoring the ancient monarchical feeling, much like the earliest of his father's coins, with the old shield traversed by the cross-fleurie, and the same mottoes, the new improvements of the mill and screw being also abandoned, and the coins again produced by the old process of the hammer. Pepys says, in his interesting diary (1660), in reference to this coinage, "Saw Mr. Slingsby, who did show me the stamps of the king's new coin; which is strange to see how good they are in the stamp and bad in the money for the lack of skill to make them; but he says Blondeau will soon come over, and then we shall have it better, and the best in the world."

The first issue of shillings, &c., was without numerals indicating the value, and without the inner circle; a second issue had the numerals, but still no inner circle was added; but in 1661 the respective values were ordered to be stamped on each, and these new coins had also the inner circle or line within the legend, absent in the first. These first silver coins of Charles II. may be said to be the last of our series which represent the sovereign in the costume of the day. Some have the lace collar over armour, and others over an ermine robe, all being crowned, also for the last time; no subsequent English coin having borne a "crowned head," in a literal sense, till the issue of the florins of Victoria.

In 1662 the previously-mentioned Peter Blondeau was again engaged to direct the mintage upon the new principle of the mill and screw; and a competition for engraving the dies was entered into between the celebrated Simon, who had engraved the dies for the protector's last coins, and John Roettier of Antwerp, which was unfairly decided in favour of Roettier. Simon afterwards produced a pattern crown, most exquisitely engraved, which is considered one of the finest examples of the numismatic art of that or any period. It was certainly very superior to any cotemporary work of the class, if we except his own previous works, the busts of Cromwell on the crowns and half-crowns, which, in some respects, equal, if they do not surpass that of Charles on the celebrated petition crown.

On the edge of this famous coin is inscribed Simon's petition to the king against the previous unjust decision; which was of course unheeded. The petition runs, "Thomas Simon most humbly prays your Majesty to compare





this his tryal piece with the Dutch, and if more truly drawn and embossed, more gracefully ordered, and more accurately engraven, to relieve him.”*

In 1663 the first issue of the improved coinage took place, consisting of crowns, half-crowns, and half-shillings, very well executed, though inferior to Simon's pattern. They display the king's head laureated, and the shoulders mantled in the conventional Roman style, with CAROLUS II. DEI GRATIA. The head is turned to the left, the contrary direction to that of the head of Cromwell, on his coins. This is the first example of the since generally adopted custom of placing the king's head on his coin in a direction contrary to that of his predecessor. It was perhaps suggested in the present instance, by a feeling of aversion to the memory of Cromwell, on whose effigy the king probably wished that his own should turn its back. The reverses of the silver coinage of 1663 consist of four shields, forming a cross, having the arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with the linked C's in the angles, the Star of the Garter in the centre, and around, the king's titles and the date. The crowns and half-crowns have DECUS ET TUTAMEN on the edge, which, like the patterns of notching or graining, was considered a preventive to the practice of “clipping.” This motto, Evelyn says, was suggested by himself to the mint-master, to intimate that it was at once an ornament and a protection to the coin.† The shillings and sixpences were simply finished at the edge, first by an upright notching, and afterwards by an oblique one. Some of the larger coins have on the edges the year of the reign in numerals, as ANNO REGNI XVIII.; or sometimes written, as TRICESIMO SEXTO (36); by which numbers it will be seen that the reign was calculated from the death of Charles I., leaving out the Commonwealth. The portrait, attired in the costume of the day, as above alluded to, was now finally abandoned, the first and second issue of Charles being the latest examples of that style. The feeling of the new device was doubtless taken from the designs of Simon, who had previously adopted it in the busts of the protector.

In reference to Blondeau's first coinage, Pepys says, “There dined with us to-day (at the Lord Mayor's) Mr. Slingsby of the mint, who showed us all the new pieces, both of gold and silver—examples of them all that were made for the king by Blondeau's way; and compared them with those made for Oliver. The pictures of the latter made by *Symons*, and of the king by one *Rotyer*, a German, I think, that dined with us also. He (Slingsby) extols those of Rotyer above the others; and, indeed, I think they are the better, because the sweeter, of the two. But, upon my word, those of the protector are more like, in my mind, than the king's; but both very well worth seeing. The crowns of Cromwell are now sold, it seems, for 25s. or 30s. a-piece.” Pepys, when expressing his astonishment that they should be

* Simon had been several years one of the chief engravers of the mint, and had prepared some of the first money; but it is conjectured that he was finally discharged after this trial; perhaps as having permanently desecrated his talents by having used them in the service of the protector.

† Hawkins.

worth 25s. to 30s. each, little thought they would eventually become worth more than twice as many *pounds*. Although the great improvement in the fabrication of the coin appears to have been more generally appreciated than novelties generally are, yet there were plenty of cavillers; for with some, innovations, even when obvious improvements, do not cease, on that account, to be abominations; and so it appears to have been with Pepys's friend, Alderman Blackwell, who, while acknowledging that the great perfection of the fabrication rendered counterfeiting almost impossible, yet pronounced it "deadly inconvenient for telling," on account of being "so thick," and having the edges made "to turn up."

The conventional Roman style in the portraiture of the coinage was introduced in France about the reign of Louis XIII., and in matters of taste France began at that time to influence very sensibly that of England. The disposition of the four shields in the form of a cross—that extremely pleasing device which continued to the reign of George III.—was also, I have no doubt, an idea of Simon's, judging from early patterns of his, in which it is imperfectly shadowed out, as completed in his pattern crown.

The smaller coins of this issue were allowed to retain the old types. Soon after, however, the small coins were assimilated in style, the groat being distinguished by four linked C's, the three-penny piece by three, the two-penny piece by two, and the penny by a single C, silver halfpennies being no longer coined.

The coins below sixpence, after this introduction of the screw process, were, however, only struck for maundy money; and in order to conform to the old custom of distributing the royal bounty on Holy, or Maundy Thursday, when a white bag was given to a certain number of poor persons, containing as many coins as the age of the king numbered in years.

No. 1, Plate 11, is a sixpence of the second issue, the portrait-bust of the old style being still adhered to, with a line inside the legend, and the numerals to denote the value. No. 4, Plate 11, is the halfpenny of that or the first coinage,—perhaps one of the last silver halfpence that were coined, as they disappear after this reign. No. 2, Plate 11, is a sixpence of the new coinage by mill and screw, when the Roman head was adopted for all the coins; the four shields forming a cross for the reverse of all the larger ones; the smaller, from fourpence down to a penny, having four, three, two, and one crowned C's, to indicate their respective values, as shown in Specimens 5 and 6, Plate 11. They were, however, no longer coined for circulation, as stated, but merely as maundy money. The dies for all, or nearly all, the coins issued after the introduction of the mill and screw were executed by Røettier, and some of them closely approached in excellence the workmanship of Simon himself.

No. 3, Plate 11, is the fine pattern crown of Simon, which has the petition on the edge, and the name of the engraver, SIMON, under the bust.

As this piece is considered one of the chief features of a complete cabinet of English coins, it may be interesting to many of my readers to know

something of the number of impressions that were struck, with such other particulars concerning them as may enable a young collector to judge of the value of any specimen of the petition crown that may fall in his way. It appears from the careful investigations of recent numismatists, and especially from those of Mr. Bergne, that several variations of the patterns were made in different trials, but that the whole of the impressions, including the varieties, were very limited in number, as will be seen by the following summary of all that is known concerning them.

The varieties are four in number; their difference consisting only in the inscription on the edge of them: that with the petition, which was the original on the edge, is the most highly valued. Of this variety fourteen or fifteen are known, all of them being of silver, and none of lead or pewter, as is the case with some of the other varieties. In the memoirs of Thomas Hollis, the actual petition crown presented to Charles II. by Simon, is said to have been given by the king to the Lord Chancellor Clarendon, whose son gave it to the Earl of Oxford, at whose death, in 1742, it was purchased by the well known numismatist, Martin Folkes, for the sum of £20. But this price given by the enthusiastic Folkes could not be maintained, and it was sold to Thomas Hollis in 1756 for the reduced sum of £12. Its reputation, however, as an important and most beautiful national monument, rapidly increased after that time, and Dr. Disney, Hollis's executor, sold it to Barrè Roberts for the sum of £105. The cabinet of that collector was purchased for the British Museum, and the original petition crown formed one of its most brilliant features. There was, unfortunately, another impression of the petition crown in the cabinet of the British Museum, which had come to that institution with the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, and in selecting a number of duplicates for sale in the year 1811, the original petition crown was unluckily included in the number. It was purchased by Marmaduke Trattle, at whose sale, in 1832, it fell into the possession of Colonel Durrant, who, after a keen competition, secured the prize for the sum of £225; this was the highest price it ever realized; for at Colonel Durrant's sale, in 1847, it was sold for £155 to Mr. C. S. Bale. The piece is in most perfect preservation—a *fleur-de-coin*, as the collectors have it—that is, as it came from the die; and is still in the case, which, from its style of appearance and manufacture, is evidently of the same date as the coin itself, and in all probability the very one in which it was placed by Simon for presentation to the king.

A second well-known specimen of the petition crown was bought at Sir Mark Sykes's sale, in 1824, for £210, which, in 1842, sold for £170, showing a decrease in the intensity of dilletanteism precisely corresponding with that which marked the last sales of the original piece. Another impression from the same die was purchased by Miss Banks, in 1802, for £90, and bequeathed by her to the Mint. These three are all first-class impressions, the first two being the best. The one in the Museum, which was received with the Sloane collection, is very fine. But the finest of all is said to be the one in the collection of the celebrated Dr. Hunter, which, with his entire cabinet,

was bequeathed by him to the city of Glasgow. This fine impression was procured by Dr. Hunter from Dr. Sadleir, but nothing is known of its previous possessors, nor of the prices paid either by Dr. Sadleir or Dr. Hunter. There are inferior and worn impressions of this piece, which may be procured at much lower prices. The best of this class of impressions may be procured for £40 or £50. One of slightly inferior character was purchased, in 1848, by Mr. Browne, for £33 10s.

The second variety of this celebrated piece, is that with REDDITE QUÆ CÆSARIS CÆSARI, on the edge, instead of the petition, from which it is known as the "Reddite" crown, to distinguish it from the "petition" crown. After the REDDITE, &c., there is another sentence expressed by the word POST, followed by a device representing the sun rising from behind clouds, the whole intended to express POST. NVBILA. PHOEBVS., in allusion to the restoration. Twelve specimens are known of this variety of Simon's crown, two of them being of pewter. The finest of the "Reddite" crowns is traced to the President West, as the earliest known possessor. At his sale, in 1773, it was sold for £32. In 1844 it brought £160, which is the highest price it ever realized. The Reddite crown which the British Museum received with the Sloane collection, was inadvertently sold as a duplicate in 1811. It was not so fine an impression as the first described, but in 1857 it realized the high price of £90. A pattern of the Reddite crown in pewter, in good condition, was sold in 1844 for £9 10s. A poor one, at the same time, realized no more than £2 9s.

The variety with the Reddite motto in English, as RENDER UNTO CÆSAR, &c., is only known in pewter. A fine impression was sold in 1802 for £11 11s. 6d.; a less perfect one sold only for £5 7s. 6d.

The only known impression with the edge plain, and in pewter, sold in 1844 for £13. It is in very fine condition. The die engraved by Simon for this piece is still preserved among the collection of dies in the Mint, where I saw it, while the present edition of this work was passing through the press. Much of the work is quite perfect, but a portion of it appears to have been partially destroyed by some corrosive acid, whether accidentally, or to prevent the taking of fresh impressions, which might decrease the value of existing specimens, I was unable to learn.

In Scotland, the crown, half-crown, shilling, and sixpence, of the English coinage, were represented by coins of very similar appearance, and of nearly the same types. There were the four-mark piece, of the size of the English crown, the two-mark, one-mark, and half-mark. They had in the centre of the reverse between the shields the numerals $\frac{1}{4}$., $\frac{xxvi}{8}$., $\frac{xiii}{4}$., and $\frac{vi}{8}$., to denote their value in Scottish money. These pieces were succeeded by the dollar, and its one-half, one-quarter, and one-eighth, passing respectively for twenty-eight, fourteen, seven, and three shillings-and-sixpence Scotch. The half-quarter has a saltire cross on the reverse, with a thistle, a rose, a fleur-de-lis, and a harp, in the angles.

In Ireland no silver money was issued in this reign, unless it be the crowns and half-crowns, irregularly formed pieces, which rather come under

the head of money of necessity than regular coinage, like the gun money of James II. These crowns and half-crowns, supposed to have been struck in Ireland between the death of his father and his own restoration, have a large crown on the obverse, like some of his father's siege money, and "V" and "II. VI." on the reverse respectively. The titles, &c., are CAR II D G. MAG. BRIT. on the obverse, and FRA. ET. HYB. RE. F. D., &c., on the reverse.

The gold coins were not various; the first had the head, laureated in the Roman style, and on the reverse the old shield; the next had the head similar, but the oval shield on the reverse. The reverses of both had the motto, FLORENT CONCORDIA REGNA. There were pieces of twenty, ten, and five shillings. In 1664 a gold coinage by the new process was issued, having on the obverse the bust undraped, as in the Cromwell gold pieces, and on the reverse, four crowned shields, bearing the arms of England, &c., with sceptres in the angles: this coinage consisted of five-pound pieces, forty-shilling pieces, and twenty-shilling pieces, which last, were, for the first time, called "guineas," from being made of the gold brought from Guinea by the African Company; there were also half-guineas. The coins made of the gold imported by the African Company had a small elephant under the bust of the king; this was done as an encouragement to the importation of gold. The term "guinea," for a twenty-shilling piece, afterwards continued to the reign of George III., without reference to the source of the gold.

It was determined at the beginning of this reign, the English gold coins being still above the value of those of other nations, to increase their nominal value, and the old unit of 20 shillings was now raised to 22 shillings, and other coins in proportion, the new coinage being made to correspond; that is to say, the pound weight of gold was coined into as many more pieces of 20 shillings, and 10 shillings respectively, as would make them of the same relative value as the raised units, &c. In 1670 the weight of the gold coins was again reduced, the pound of gold (22 carats fine) being coined into £44 10s. At the end of this reign an Act was passed, with the view of encouraging the bringing of bullion to the Mint, by removing all charges upon coinage for private individuals, the state undertaking to be at the whole expense; and the full weight of bullion was to be returned in coin without any deduction. But to defray the expenses incurred, a duty on foreign wines, vinegar, &c., was levied.

The dies for the gold coinage of Charles II. exhibit the finest work of Roettier, with the exception of his crown of 1663. Some of the patterns closely approached the style of Simon, especially the five-guinea piece of 1670, in the British Museum. There are five-guinea pieces dated from 1668 to 1684. Some have an elephant under the bust, and some not. Others have the elephant and castle, and the date of the reign on the edge. After the year 1678 the motto, DECUS ET TUTAMEN, disappears from the edges of the gold coins. The two-guineas were of the same design as the five-guineas, excepting at the edge, which was only notched. They bear the date of every year between 1664 and 1684. The guineas of 1663 were also of the same types, and are found with the date of every year between

1663 and 1684, except 1669, 1671, and 1673. The half-guineas of the same types as the five-guineas of 1660 are found with the dates 1669, 1670, and 1671. Those of the types of the five-guinea piece of 1678 are found with the date of each subsequent year up to 1684.

No. 7, Plate 11, is a forty-shilling piece of 1664, being the double of the guinea, or twenty-shilling piece, which was issued as 20 shillings, and not as 21 shillings, its increased value occurring from the subsequent scarcity of gold.

No gold appears to have been issued in Scotland in this reign.

The money of our colonies and dependencies now became interesting.

It is said that Charles II. was much displeased with the colonists in Massachusetts on account of their coining money, which he considered a breach of his prerogative, and threatened, to Sir Thomas Temple, that they should be punished. Upon which Sir Thomas took some of the pieces from his pocket to show to the king, on the reverse of which was a pine tree, one of that species of pine, common in the colony, that grows flat and bushy at the top, like the Italian pine. The king asked what tree it was: upon which Sir Thomas Temple told him that of course it was the Royal Oak which had preserved his majesty's life; upon which the king said no more of punishment, but, laughing, called the colonists "honest dogs."

THE ANGLO-INDIAN COINAGE.

The first colonial money coined by England was that of Elizabeth, by whom the East India Company was first incorporated. It being found that, in the countries where the Spaniards and Portuguese had preceded us, the Spanish dollar was the only European money in repute, the merchants petitioned the queen to allow the export of a certain quantity of these pieces yearly. But she determined rather to supply the want by a coinage of her own, and caused pieces of the value of the Spanish dollar to be struck, with British types and legends. These pieces have the arms of England, crowned, on the obverse, and the portcullis of Westminster, crowned, on the reverse, from which this issue became known as the "Portcullis money." There are the crown, half-crown, shilling, and sixpence, as they are called, of this money; but they were in reality "Pieces of eight," and their subdivisions; that is to say, pieces of eight Spanish rials, and of four, of two, and of one rial. They were worth, respectively, 4s. 6d., 2s. 3d., 1s. 1½d., and 6¼d. each.

In the reign of James the merchants bought off the restriction against the export of Spanish dollars, so that no money of the English types again circulated in India till the reign of Charles II. On the marriage of that king with Katherine of Portugal, in 1662, the island and port of Bombay were ceded to him as part of her dower; after which time *rupees* were coined by the Company for the new colony.* (Nos. 7 and 8, Plate 23.) The legend on the obverse of these coins is HON(orati) SOC(ietas) ANG(licana)

* A clause in the charter, granted in 1677, empowers the company to stamp money, &c., at Bombay. The rupees referred to, were coined between 1662 and 1684.

IND(iæ) ORI(entalis)—“Of the Honourable East India Company;” and on the reverse, A. DEO PAX. ET INCREMENTVM—“Peace and prosperity from God.” There was also an Indian copper coinage, that of the *pice*, consisting of five *rees*, eighty of which go to the *rupee*; that is, about one-third of an English penny in value. The *pice* was of very similar type to the *rupee*. No. 9, Plate 23, is a *pagoda* of the Madras Presidency, which followed the example of that of Bombay.

The names of the native Indian coins which circulated at the time of our first colonization, recall the character and names belonging to the origin of the art of coinage, as first introduced by the Greeks, as referred to in my introductory chapter to this work. It is there stated, that the act of “sealing” was understood to be a solemn compact, and that the placing of the stamp or seal upon a piece of metal was considered a guarantee by the state of its weight and purity. We find this fact illustrated by the name of the principal gold coin of India, which was called *mohur*, the term *mohur* meaning a seal or stamp. In like manner, just as the generic term for money among the Greeks was “silver,” so the chief silver coin of India, the *rupee*, received its name from *rupiya*, silver. The *mohur* or *ashrafee*, as it was sometimes called, was, at the time of the first English occupation of Bombay, coined for the convenience of individuals, and its value fluctuated like that of other commodities. There were also some other coins, evidently direct remains of the Greek and Roman systems of coinage, the first of which had reached India through the Macedonian conquest of Western and Central Asia, and the latter during the existence of the Roman empire of the East, with Constantinople for its capital. Belonging to the Greek system there was the *derhem* (silver drachma), and of the Roman system the gold *dinar* (the *denarius auri*), and also the copper *faloos*, the *folles* of the lower empire.

The English company at Bombay, in order to regulate the value of the native *mohurs*, which were called “*pagodas*,” on account of a Hindoo *pagoda* forming the type of many of them, determined eventually to coin such pieces themselves. (No. 9, Plate 23.) The King of Golconda was applied to by the Company to ratify this coinage; but this permission being refused, the Company sought and obtained authority from the English court.

“The English *pagodas* had frequently,” says Snelling, “an Arabic inscription on both sides, without the *idol* forming the type of the Indian ones; but these were more properly gold *rupees*.” The silver *fanam* of Bombay is also a well-known coin of the reign of Charles II.; it is about the size of an English silver penny of the time, but thicker, and has on the obverse an Indian divinity, and on the reverse two linked C’s, with no legend.

Other Indian coins, from about 1690 to 1700, were termed *doudoos*, and *cash*, the *doudoos* being ten *cash*, eight *doudoos* going to one *fanam*. The *doudoos* have on one side a cross, in the form of St. Andrew’s, with “E. I. C.” in the angles, and a dart in the upper one, with the date on the reverse; or sometimes an Arabic inscription. The smaller piece was slightly different in its devices.

THE COPPER COINAGE.

When it is remembered that the great bulk of the ancient Roman coinage was copper, and that its circulation had been firmly established all over Europe, it appears somewhat extraordinary that copper should have been entirely abandoned as a monetary medium by the nations which arose on the ruins of the Roman empire, whose whole system of civilization was more or less closely founded on that of Rome. The greater amount of skill required in extracting copper from the ore, and in working it, are probably the main causes of the change. This seems corroborated to some extent by the fact, that while tin, which is easily obtained and refined, was an article of commerce in Cornwall in periods of remote antiquity, the existence of copper, which now forms the great staple of our Cornish wealth, was comparatively unknown, and the richest copper ore was thrown aside as worthless by the tin miners. From whatever cause, however, none of the nations of modern Europe adopted a copper coinage till a comparatively recent period; and some of their colonies have not known the use of a coinage of copper for small change to our day,—as, for instance, the Spanish colonies of South America, where copper money was unknown up to 1825, when the Buenos Ayreans issued small copper coins, called *decimos*, rather larger than a farthing, which are said to have been manufactured at Birmingham.

English copper was first issued in bulk from the royal mint in the reign of Charles II.; but as early as the reigns of Henry IV., V., and VI., the black, or base money, of the Continent circulated throughout the country, to supply the deficiency of small national coin; and it was imitated here in the monasteries, and perhaps even by private individuals. The pieces known as “Abbey pieces” were about the size of the Tournay groat of Henry VIII., and of somewhat similar type to the reverse of that coin. In the reign of Henry VIII., or even earlier, many private traders, to remedy the want of small change, coined for themselves leaden tokens, to pass as halfpennies and farthings; but as these tokens were only payable by the persons issuing them, great loss was caused to the poor, as they could only obtain goods in direct exchange for them, though they had been issued as small change for true coin of the realm. No. 2, Plate 22, is a leaden token of this class, with the date 1599.

In the reign of Elizabeth it had become a common custom for vintners and others to issue such tokens as small change, almost every tavern having its own peculiar device. Mr. Akerman, in his interesting work on the subject, has engraved the tokens issued at the “Boar’s Head,” in Eastcheap, and also at the celebrated “Mermaid” tavern, in Cheapside. Nos. 4 and 6, Plate 22, are examples of these tokens, which were probably issued during the period that Shakspeare and Jonson frequented those well-known resorts of the wits of the period.

In order to put a stop to this kind of private coinage, it was proposed to Elizabeth to issue a small copper coinage,—No. 1, Plate 22, being the pattern proposed for a copper halfpenny; but it was never issued.

About this time the city of Bristol struck copper farthings by authority, and afterwards some other towns were allowed to do so, the town tokens being open to much less abuse than those of private persons. An order in council relating to the Bristol tokens is dated 1594.

In the reign of James I. it was determined, after much discussion, to issue a small copper coinage, in order to put a stop to the currency both of town and private tokens, which had greatly increased in numbers; but still there was a regal repugnance to copper, as a metal for the national coinage, nearly as strong as that which had caused Elizabeth to prevent the proposed issue of halfpence and farthings in her reign, arising, probably, from the knowledge of the injury that *base* money had at a former period caused to the currency of France, and the extraordinary depreciation of all the money of the realm which had been more recently produced by it in Scotland. But these cases were quite distinct from, and had no analogy with, a pure copper currency, equal in its nominal and intrinsic value, as might have been known, even at that time, from the example of the noble copper coinage of ancient Rome, which was then beginning to be well understood by the learned, especially since the celebrated Budæus had written his excellent treatise upon it in the reign of Francis I.

James I., however, still persevered in his prejudice, and the copper farthings were not coined at the royal mints, but through the means of patents granted to private persons, the first being granted to the Lord Harrington.

No. 3, Plate 22, is one of the copper farthings of James I. It bears on the reverse a harp, which proves that they were chiefly intended for Ireland, the destination of all discreditable coin, though the royal proclamation concerning their issue made them current in England, and forbade private and town tokens in consequence; which, nevertheless, did not cease at that time. Copper farthings, similar to those of James I., were issued by Charles I., differing only in the name; and a larger kind was also proposed, a pattern for which was made, it is supposed, by Briot. (No. 5, Plate 22.) Farthings of the Commonwealth have been sufficiently described among the coins already noticed of that period, and it is therefore unnecessary to revert to them here. The farthings of James I., Charles I., and the Commonwealth, having failed, either from their small number, or other causes, to supply the want of small change, the town and private tokens went on increasing, especially during the civil wars and the Commonwealth; and Snelling and other authors have engraved hundreds of varieties of this illicit private coinage, the great bulk of which was issued between 1620 and 1670.

No. 7, Plate 22, is a Bristol farthing; No. 9, a Cirencester farthing; No. 8, a Nottingham halfpenny, will afford a good general idea of the style of the town tokens issued between 1620 and 1670.

As examples of private or tradesmen's tokens, No. 12, Plate 22, a halfpenny of Robert Watmough, who describes himself as carrier for Halifax, and No. 11, a halfpenny of Thomas Dedicot, of Bewdley, will be sufficient. It will be seen that Dedicot made the halfpenny *square*, to suit his motto. The word

"token," by which these pieces are so well known, is but rarely found upon any of them.

In the reign of Charles II. many pattern farthings were suggested before the real copper coinage was issued. The two types numbered 10, one being the coin referred to by Lord Lucan, are sufficient for examples. Some of these pattern farthings were tin, with a circle of copper in the centre, similar to the plugged halfpence of subsequent reigns. Pepys informs us, incidentally, that the project of an issue of farthings was, at that time, always connected with some disreputable means of raising money. In speaking of a discussion respecting the relative advantages of a "lottery" and "issue of farthings" for such purposes, he says,—“Many good things were discoursed of concerning the making of farthings, which was proposed as a way of raising money for this business, and then that of lotteries; but with great confusion. But I hope we shall get all into greater order.” Greater order did not come, however, during the *regime* of the Stuarts, notwithstanding the hopes of Pepys.

The first copper halfpennies and farthings, equal in their nominal and intrinsic values, were issued in 1672; but still the royal prejudice would not allow them to be coined in the national mints. They were manufactured in virtue of a patent granted to some individual unknown, and the head of the king, apparently to denote the inferiority of the copper coinage, was turned in the opposite direction to that on the gold and silver coin. In the motto the new coin was styled NUMMORUM FAMULUS, the “Servant of money.” This money, however, was of the finest Swedish copper, and of full weight.

The favour with which this coinage was received appears to have removed the royal prejudice against a currency of the inferior metals, and a large amount of these farthings was soon afterwards issued from the royal mint.

In 1665 it is said copper halfpence were issued in small quantities, but some consider the pieces which have come down to us were only patterns; they have the king's head, and CAROLUS A CAROLO; the reverse Britannia, with QUATUOR MARIA VINDICO, as on the first pattern farthings, alluding to the empire of the sea, so often claimed by our sovereigns. The figure of Britannia is very graceful, and beautifully executed. It is said to be a portrait of the beautiful Frances Stuart, and to have been executed by Philip Roettier, the brother of the engraver of the gold and silver money, in the engraving of the dies of which he had also assisted. The general character of the device was, of course, suggested by the figure of Britannia found on some of the Roman coins relating to Britain; but it has a character of its own, and all the details of face, figure, and drapery, are quite original; the drapery falling off the shoulder is very graceful, and the whole is executed in an elegant feeling. The farthing is not quite so successful, and the design of the drapery is changed, leaving one leg bare. The specimen No. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$, Plate 11, is the half-penny, showing the obverse only. Lord Lucan's farthings were so called from the circumstance of his making a speech against the state of the currency in the presence of the king; first alluding to the total disappearance of the Commonwealth coins, which, from the form of the two joining shields, were

called "Breeches:" "a fit name," said Lord Lucan, "for the coins of the Rump." He then proceeded to state, that he saw no probability of their being replaced, "unless by *copper* farthings, and this is the metal (said he), according to the inscription on it, which is to *vindicate the dominion of the four seas*." (See No. 10, Plate 22.) The halfpence and farthings issued in bulk for circulation in 1672, the first real copper coinage, were the same as the patterns above alluded to, with the exception of having the simple motto BRITANNIA on the reverse, instead of the one ridiculed by Lord Lucan; and these coins, being of the intrinsic value that they were issued for, at length nearly superseded the private tokens, which no law had been able to put down. But still, so great was the convenience of the private tokens, and the profit upon their issue, that they continued to circulate for some time longer, notwithstanding many stringent enactments against them. The tin farthings, issued at the end of this reign, with a stud of copper, to render their imitation difficult, have on the edge, like the earlier patterns, NUMMORUM FAMULUS.

In Scotland, in this reign, "Boddles" or "Turners" were still struck, some having the numeral II. under a crown, with a small "C. R." on each side, and others with simply "C. R." crowned, on the obverse—and on the reverse, a thistle, with the national motto, NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT. Towards the end of Charles's reign, a coin of a new description was issued, to which, however, the old name "bawbee" was given, though unlike the "bawbee" of the reign of Mary, which it was enacted (in the reign of James VI.) should pass for threepence. The present "bawbee" was to pass for sixpence Scotch, and the "boddle" for twopence. The "bawbee" is engraved in Plate 19, Nos. 19 and 20, and the "boddle," No. 21, in the same plate.

In Ireland a few copper farthings were issued by Charles II., similar to those of his father. (See No. 22, Plate 18.) When these farthings were issued the tokens were forbidden. In 1679 the coin known as the "Dublin Halfpenny" was struck; it has on the obverse a shield bearing the arms of Dublin, three castles, and the date 1679, the legend being THE DUBLIN HALFPENNY; the reverse has the Irish harp, crowned, with the motto, LONG LIVE THE KING. On May 16, 1680, a patent was granted to Sir Thomas Armstrong and Colonel Legge, to make copper halfpence for the use of Ireland, for twenty-one years—these halfpence have the King's bust and titles on the obverse, as on the English coinage, and the harp on the reverse.

THE COINS OF OUR AMERICAN AND OTHER WESTERN COLONIES, DURING THE REIGN OF CHARLES II.

The earliest coins of our American colonies are of a date prior to the present reign; but they may be most conveniently alluded to in this place. The first is the copper piece of the Sommer Islands, named after Sir George Sommers, who was shipwrecked there in 1609. A colony was formed in 1612,

and soon afterwards a copper currency was established, having on one side a hog, with the legend SOMMER ISLAND, and the numeral XII., the signification of which is not known,—on the reverse is a ship without legend. (See No. 1, Plate 23.)

The first Governmental coinage of silver in America was commenced during the Commonwealth, in consequence of the great quantity of silver taken from the Spaniards about this time by the buccaneers—a mint being established at Boston to coin it into money. The coins there struck have much the aspect of siege pieces, being merely tolerably circular pieces of silver plate, stamped near the edge with the letters “N. E.” on one side, and the numerals XII. and VI. on the shillings and sixpences respectively, on the other side. (See Plate 23, No. 2, a sixpence.) It was afterwards ordered, in 1651, that this coinage should be improved; and shillings, sixpences, fourpences, twopences, and pennies, were issued. Nos. 5 and 6, Plate 23, are the obverse and reverse of a threepenny piece. There were also shillings of another pattern issued in the same year, having the good Samaritan for principal type, instead of the tree. The date 1652 was continued for thirty years afterwards. These coinages took place in the time of Cromwell, who did not interfere with them, but they were suppressed after the restoration, as not by royal authority.

Lord Baltimore, who, as before stated, obtained from Charles I., in 1632, a patent grant as “proprietor” of Maryland, sent out a colony of 200 persons; and either at that time, or when his grant was renewed in 1661 by Charles II., coined money bearing his portrait, with the inscription CÆCILIVS DNS TERRÆ MARLÆ, &c., and on the reverse his arms, crowned with an imperial crown, and the motto, CRESCITE ET MULTIPLICAMINI, between the respective values of the coins, XII. on the shilling, and VI. and IV. on the sixpences and groats, which were of fine silver, and nearly equal to the English coinage in weight. There was also a small copper coin, with the legend DENARIUM TERRÆ MARLÆ on the reverse.

JAMES II. (1684 to 1688). The head of the king on the money of this reign is turned to the left, the reverse of that of his predecessor—a custom that we shall now find constantly adhered to. The devices of the coins were in other respects similar to the last of Charles II., having the bust and name on one side, and the arms and titles on the other, with no other motto. The arms were arranged on four shields as a cross, but without linked initials in the angles: the inscriptions on the *edges* are, ANNO REGNI SECUNDO, &c. The edges of the shillings and sixpences have oblique lines. The lesser pieces, or maundy money, are marked IIII. to I., with a crown above. The five-shilling pieces of this king, in fine condition, are rare; that of 1688, very perfect, sold at Edmond’s sale for £1 11s. 6d.

No. 8, Plate 11, is a half-crown, which was not quite equal in execution to the crown; and No. 9, Plate 11, is a twopenny piece: the other pieces of the maundy money of this reign being of the same types.

James II. again altered the values of the principal Scottish silver coins, issuing a ten-shilling piece, Scotch, about the size of the English shillings of

Charles I., and a forty-shilling piece about the size of the English crown, both of nearly the same type as the English coin.

The gold coinage of this reign differs only from that of the last in having the head turned the other way. The specimen No. 10, Plate 11, is a five-pound piece. The types of the two-pound piece, and also of the guineas and half-guineas—names now established for all twenty and ten-shilling pieces—were the same as on the larger pieces. There are five-guinea pieces of 1687 and 1688; two guineas, with the edge only lined, of 1685, 1686, 1687, and 1688; half-guineas of 1686, 1687, and 1688.

No Scottish gold was issued in this reign.

Of copper money very little appeared in the reign of James II., the half-pennies and farthings being of tin, with a copper plug. The reverses are the same as those of his predecessor, but they are not quite so well executed; both half-pennies and farthings have NUMMORUM FAMULUS on the edge. The specimen No. 10½, Plate 11, shows the obverse of a tin halfpenny, with JACOBUS SECUNDUS for legend, and a copper plug.

No Scottish copper was issued.

Some colonial money for Bombay was issued of the same type as that of the preceding reign, and the authority to strike money, which had been refused by the King of Golconda, was granted, when rupees and pice were struck, also similar to those of the previous reign. (See No. 18, Plate 23.)

In Ireland the patent for making halfpence was continued to the assignee of Sir J. Armstrong.

The most remarkable events of the Irish coinage of this reign are those connected with the "gun money." After the revolution of 1688 a proclamation was issued by James, in Ireland, for making shillings and sixpences of mixed metal. They were made from old pieces of ordnance, &c., and are known as the "gun money." They are similar on the obverse to the halfpence, but have on the reverse, two sceptres in saltire through a crown, between "I. R." in decorative italic cypher, with the date 1689, and the values XII. and VI. Half-crowns were soon after issued of the same type as the shillings, but with the numerals XXX. over the crown, and AUG. for August (No. 15, Plate 22),—all this money having the month in which it was struck under the crown. In March, 1690, pennies and halfpence of white metal were struck, with the king's bust on the obverse, and a crowned harp on the reverse (Plate 22, No. 16), some having the king on horseback on the obverse. (Plate 22, No. 13.) In April, crowns of white metal were struck. They have the king on horseback on the obverse, and on the reverse the four shields, like the English coin. On the edge they have MELIORIS TESSERA FATI. (a "token" of better fortune), ANNO REGNO SEXTO. There are also half-crowns of this type. (See Plate 22, No. 14.) In June of the same year the half-crowns were called in and re-stamped to pass as crowns, and some shillings and sixpences were called in in order to be coined smaller. A large crown was subsequently struck in white metal, with two plugs of brass in the king's horse on the obverse, and a large crown of brass in the centre of the reverse.

After James had quitted Ireland copper money was issued in his name by his adherents, in Limerick. The pieces were halfpennies, now known as "Hibernias," from the figure of Hibernia on the reverse, holding the harp and resembling the Britannia on the English copper money. (Plate 22 No. 18.)

In the reign of James II. a tin piece was issued for the American plantations, where the Spanish dollar chiefly circulated, with its parts, reals and half-reals. The English coin was intended to pass as twenty-four to the real, and is marked on the reverse, VAL. 24 PART REAL. HISPAN, round four shields, disposed as a cross, bearing the arms of England, Scotland, Ireland and France; on the obverse is the king on horseback, with his name and titles.

WILLIAM and MARY, and WILLIAM III. (1688 to 1702). The same style of coinage in its general appearance, fineness, and weight, was continued at the commencement of these reigns. The profiles of the king and queen are placed one over the other on the obverse of all the coins, surrounded with GULIELMUS ET MARIA, DEI GRATIA, and are well executed: most of them have four shields arranged as a cross on the reverse, with the arms of Nassau in the centre, and "W. & M." interlaced in the angles; but some have a simple crowned shield, with the arms of Nassau on an escutcheon of pretence. The maundy money has the profiles of the king and queen, with short hair, without drapery, and with numerals on the reverses, as previously. The small coins, after 1692, are not so well executed, and it is supposed that the Rœtters, who still worked for the Mint, engraved the first, but not the later specimens.

Notwithstanding these issues, the general coinage had fallen into a bad state, and much old hammered money (still in circulation) had become thin, and was counterfeited. These circumstances called down the attack of Fleetwood, Bishop of Ely, as a similar state of things in the reign of Edward VI. had excited the indignation of Latimer. Fleetwood exclaimed, in a sermon preached before the Lord Mayor at Guildhall—"The cry will be like that of Egypt, loud and universal; for every family will be a loser; but it will fall severest upon the poor, who from a little can spare none:" and another preacher, seeking a simile between the debased coinage and the laxity of religion, said—"Our divisions have been to our religion what the shears have been to our money," &c., &c. Lord Macaulay mentions incidentally in his history of this reign, that the booksellers gave the widow of Archbishop Tillotson £2,500 for his sermons—"a sum equal in the wretched state of the coinage to £3,600."

After the death of the queen in 1695, the king, who continued to reign by the title of William III., determined on taking into consideration the bad state of the coinage (partly owing, as has been stated, to much of the old hammered money being still in circulation, which, being worn and clipped, was now below half its value), and restore its general character. A tax was therefore laid upon dwelling-houses, to raise the sum of £1,200,000, to supply the deficiency of the clipped money; and in order that there might

be as little delay as possible in carrying a complete new coinage into effect, mints were established at York, Bristol, Norwich, Exeter, and Chester, the coins of each mint being respectively marked with the initial letter of the name of the place.

By means of the assistance of these country mints the new coinage was completed in two years. The high feeling of the king upon this subject, and his determination to obtain the best opinions and guidance in the matter, are strongly exemplified by the fact of his appointment of the illustrious Newton to the post of master of the mint, which, however, did not take place till 1697. Nearly £7,000,000 of silver money were coined during the years 1696 and 1697, by far the greatest portion of which was minted at the Tower. Besides the letters indicating the places of mintage, some of the coins had marks, such as the *rose*, showing that the silver came from the west of England; the *plumes*, for Welsh silver; and the *elephant and castle*, indicating metal from the African Company. These marks were generally placed in the angles between the shields.

But the silver coinage was still insufficient, and continued so for twenty years afterwards; for in 1717, in the reign of George I., Sir Isaac Newton, who was still in office, said in his report, "If silver money become a little scarcer, people will, in a little time, refuse to make payments in silver without a premium."

On the new coinage the king's bust appears alone, surrounded by GULIELMUS III. DEI. GRATIA: the reverse has the four shields as before, but without "W." or "M." in the angles, and all the pieces are alike, with the exception of mint-marks. The maundy money was as before, with the obvious exception of the king's bust being alone.

The few rare varieties that occur in collections, it is supposed, were only patterns. The shillings and sixpences varied slightly towards the close of the reign, in having the features of the bust a little more strongly marked, and the hair more upright on the forehead. The year of the reign was marked on the edges of the larger pieces.

In Scotland, in the reign of William and Mary, sixty, forty, twenty, ten, and five-shilling pieces were coined, the largest being about the size of the English crown. On the reverse the arms were on one shield; the smallest piece has on the reverse only a large cipher "W. & M.," interlaced and crowned.

William III. issued the same pieces, the smallest having a three-branched thistle, crowned, instead of a cipher, with the old Scottish motto, NEMO ME IMPUNE LACESSIT.

The specimen No. 11, Plate 11, is an English half-crown of William and Mary; No. 12, a shilling of William and Mary; and Nos. 16 and 20 are a fourpenny and a twopenny piece. The obverse of the small pieces of William and Mary have portraits like the larger ones.

Specimen 14, Plate 11, is a half-crown of William III., coined at Chester (with the C.); and the reverse of a half-crown of William III., coined from the Welsh silver, with the feathers between the shield.

The gold coins of William and Mary, and William III., consisted of five-pound pieces, two-pound pieces, guineas, and half-guineas.

The specimen without a number is a five-pound piece of William III.

The specimen 13, Plate 11, is a two-pound piece of William and Mary, with the simple shield on the reverse; the guineas and half-guineas were of the same pattern. There are five-guinea pieces of every year from 1691 to 1694; and two-guineas of 1693 and 1694. The guineas have the shield less garnished. They are of every date from 1689 to 1694. There are half-guineas of the same type of 1691, 1692, and 1694.

The two-pound pieces of William III. had on the reverse four shields, as a cross, with sceptres in the angles, as on those of Charles II., and that device continued through the next two reigns. The five-pound pieces, guineas, and half-guineas, were of the same pattern. There are five-pound pieces of each date from 1699 to 1701, those of 1701 being of bolder execution. There are two-guineas of 1701, but of no other date. There are guineas of each year from 1695 to 1698. There are others of 1699, 1700, and 1701, the last being similar to the five-guinea piece of that date. There are half-guineas of 1698, similar to the guineas of the same date.

The last Scottish gold was issued during the reign of William III. It consisted of a small issue of pistoles and half-pistoles, coined from the gold sent over by the Scottish African Company, from the colony of Darien. These pieces are of about the size of the English guinea and half-guinea, and resemble them in their types, except in having the arms on an entire shield, and on the larger pieces "a rising sun" under the bust of the king, in compliment to the fine ship of that name in which the gold was brought home.

Notwithstanding the eminent talents called to preside over monetary affairs in this reign, the most absurd enactments were passed with a view to remedy the scarcity of the precious metals—no gold, for instance, was to be worn as ornaments during the war, &c. In the reign of Charles II. it had been enacted that no gold should be used in gilding carriages.

The guineas at one time rose in this reign to the value of 30s., though pieces of equal weight and fineness could be purchased in Holland for 22s.; but an enactment reduced their value to 26s., and afterwards to 22s. These were arbitrary enactments causing the greatest confusion, and it being eventually found that, on the Continent, gold bore a value as fifteen to one of that of silver, it followed that, to preserve something like that proportion, 21s. 6d., was sufficient for the guinea, and it afterwards passed at that price. This measure in some degree prevented the great export of silver for the purchase of gold.

The copper or tin coinage of these reigns did not vary much in character from those of Charles and James; but the halfpence of William III., 1699, have the Britannia with the right leg crossed, like that on the farthings of Charles I.; but on this coinage the leg is draped, instead of bare. The tin halfpennies and farthings have a plug of copper in them. In 1593 Andrew Corbet obtained a patent for making copper halfpence and farthings, for payment of £1,000 per annum, upon which it appears the patentee would

have had a profit of £18,000 in the nine years of his patent, but the patent was taken from him in the following year.

No Scottish copper was issued in the reign of James II.; but in that of William and Mary there are bawbees with the portraits of the king and queen on the obverse, as on the English coinage; and on the reverse, a thistle like that of Charles II.: the boddles were of the same types as those of Charles.

Of William III. there is the bawbee with the portrait of the king only, but the same reverse as during the life of the queen.

There was no Scottish copper issued after this reign.

In Ireland the only money issued during the reign of William and Mary, consisted of farthings of copper and brass. The heads occupied the obverse, as on English coins, and the crowned harp the reverse, similar to that of Charles II. (No. 17, Plate 22.)

The specimen No. 17, Plate 11, is a tin farthing of William and Mary, with a copper plug.

The specimen No. 18, Plate 11, is a copper halfpenny of William III.

On some of the patterns preserved, which were essays for the copper of these reigns, we find the queen's head on one side with *MARIA II. DEI GRATIA*; and on the other the king's head, with *GULIELMUS III., &c.*; others have the queen's head, and *MARIA DEI GRA.*, on the obverse, and on the reverse, a rose with *EX CANDOR DECUS*. Of William III. there is a pattern farthing, half brass, with a sun on the reverse, and *NON DEVIO*. These half-brass patterns look like the half of a sovereign and the half of a farthing stuck together, showing half the face red and half yellow.

CHAPTER XII.

COINS OF ANNE, GEORGE I., II., III., IV., WILLIAM IV., AND VICTORIA.

ANNE (1702 to 1714). The coins of this reign are of the same fineness, weight, and denomination as those of the last. The devices, with the exception of the portrait, are also the same, with trifling variations. The bust of the queen, on the obverse, is turned to the right; the hair is simply bound by a fillet, and the shoulders clothed in a light drapery, fastened in front with a stud or rosette; the legend is, ANNA DEI GRATIA: the reverse has the four shields arranged as a cross, with the Star of the Garter in the centre, instead of the arms of Nassau of the last reign, and the date and titles are abbreviated as MAG. BRI. FR. ET. HIB. REG.

The slight variations above alluded to are the marks denoting the sources from which the silver was derived, some having the plumes for the silver of the Welsh mines, and some the roses for West of England silver; some having both marks, denoting that the silver was mixed. Others have the word *vigo* under the queen's head, in commemoration of the capture of Vigo and the Spanish galleons, from the treasure of which the silver of those coins was derived. In some the fillet in the hair is rather differently arranged. This trifling change took place in the coins issued after the legislative union with Scotland, from which time the coinage of the two countries was assimilated in every respect, and the separate Scottish coinage, with distinct national emblems, which had continued from James I. to this time, was abolished. The only distinction now of the Scottish coins was the letter "E," for the Edinburgh mint, under the queen's head. Those coins with the "E." were the last coins produced away from the Tower. The arms of the reverses were slightly changed at this time, and those of England and Scotland, instead of being on separate shields, were impaled together on the first and third shields, those of France and Ireland occupying the second and fourth. The larger pieces have the year of the reign on the edge, as ANNO REGNI QUINTO, or SEXTO, or as the year might be.

The last separate coins for Scotland, of different denomination to the English, previous to the legislative union, were two pieces of ten and five shillings, Scotch, issued in this reign. The numerals for ten and five appear on the obverse of the respective coins, under the bust; the reverses were like the two smallest pieces of William III.

After this reign the English coins circulated in Scotland as in England, and no difference even of type was made in coins intended for Scotland. But the copper money coined for Ireland continued to be distinguished by the crowned harp.



Specimen 1, Plate 12, is the obverse of a Vigo half-crown; No. 3, Plate 12, is the reverse of a shilling coined from the Welsh silver, with the feathers in the angles; No. 3½ is the obverse of a shilling of the Edinburgh mint, distinguished by the letter "E." The maundy money had the bust like the larger pieces, but only crowned numerals on the reverses.

Of the coins of the short but prosperous reign of Anne, it may be said that they mark another epoch in the improvement of English money. Charles I., by his natural taste for art, had done much for the design and execution of the coin. The spirited conduct of the Commonwealth and Cromwell had imported foreign skill, and with its aid carried the coinage of the country, in perfection of execution, even beyond that of neighbouring nations. In the reign of Queen Anne great attention was again paid to the execution of the coins, and public interest seemed to be roused to the importance of those national monuments, as will be seen from the following suggestion to the government of the time by Dean Swift. He proposed that the halfpence and farthings, after the union with Scotland and the perfect assimilating of the two countries, should be entirely recoinced; and that, "1st, They should bear devices and inscriptions alluding to the most remarkable events of her Majesty's reign. 2d, That there be a society established for finding out proper subjects, inscriptions, and devices," with other excellent suggestions and remarks.* "By this means," he said, "medals that are at present only a dead treasure, or mere curiosities, will perpetuate the glories of her Majesty's reign, and keep alive a gratitude for great public services, and excite the emulation of posterity." To these generous purposes nothing can contribute in so lasting a manner as medals of this kind; for they are of undoubted authority, not perishable by time, nor confined, like other monuments, to a certain place. The combination of these properties is certainly not to be found in books, statues, pictures, buildings, or any other records of illustrious actions. The great interest of such records on coins is fully shown by the coins of the Romans, who so fully appreciated this mode of commemorating great events. Nothing, however, was done upon these useful and patriotic suggestions, though they were warmly entertained for a time, and some patterns actually struck. "But if," observes Ruding, "the Dean's project had been carried out, it would have ennobled our coinage, and have elevated it far above the rank of a mere medium of commerce."

The principal engraver in the mint, in the reign of Anne, was a German of the name of Crocker. He afterwards Anglicized his name as Croker. This artist had been appointed an assistant engraver in 1697. He is known to have engraved the Queen Anne farthings, the rarity of which has been so much overrated by young collectors. Besides the dies for the money, he also engraved some of the best of the national medals struck in this reign. Several of the original designs of Crocker are preserved in a volume in the British Museum—some of them being signed as approved by Sir Isaac Newton.

* But after all, the interference of Swift was rather factious than sincere; for afterwards, in the affair of Wood's copper coinage, he prevented a beneficial improvement which had received the sanction of Sir Isaac Newton.

The gold coins of Anne were five-pounds, two-pounds, guineas, and half-guineas; the devices are the same as those on the silver coins, with the exception of the sceptres in the angles of the cross.

Specimen No. 2, Plate 12, is a two-pound piece.

The queen's fastidious modesty in insisting upon the drapery about the bust, caused her gold coins so closely to resemble the silver, that shillings and sixpences were gilt, and passed for guineas and half-guineas; the only difference being that the guineas had a lock of hair proceeding from the nape of the neck, and lying over the right shoulder on the right breast. Another mark by which these false guineas might be detected was, of course, the sceptres on the reverse.

There are five-guinea pieces of 1705 and 1706, before the Union; and after the Union, of 1709, 1711, 1713, and 1714. Those of the three last dates being of lower relief than the preceding. There are two-guinea pieces of similar character, of the same dates. The guinea of 1702, with crowned shields and "Æ" in the centre, and plain edge, is extremely rare; it was, perhaps, only a pattern. There is a variety, equally rare, with a rose in the centre instead of "Æ." Those with the bare neck, which the queen objected to, are much sought by collectors, and are very rare. There are guineas of every date, from 1702 to 1714, except 1704. Those of 1702 have generally VIGO. Some of 1708 and 1709 have the elephant and castle; the half-guineas were similar to the five-guineas of 1702. They bear the dates 1702, 3-5-7-8-9-10-11-12-13-14. Those of 1709 have VIGO.

Of copper, none at all was issued during the reign; and the Queen Anne farthings, of which so much has been said, were only patterns, and never issued: they are, however, not excessively rare, the one with sunk letters being the most scarce.

The specimen of these patterns, No. 4, Plate 12, is one with raised letters; the other specimen, No. 12, Plate 5, is a pattern halfpenny, probably executed to celebrate the legal union with Scotland, having on the reverse a rose and thistle on the same stem, crowned with a single crown; and there is another pattern which has on the reverse a small Britannia, holding a sprig of rose and thistle on the same stem, and above the figure a large crown.

Among the patterns of farthings prepared in the reign of Anne, is a fine one of 1713, with the bust well executed, and ANNA AUGUSTA for the obverse, and on the reverse Victory in a war chariot, with the motto, PAX MISSA PER ORBEM, a motto taken from the Roman coinage. It was probably struck, in 1713, with a view to commemorate the general peace. Another has the figure of Britannia, like that on the farthings of Charles II., but placed in a decorated niche, from which it is called the "canopy pattern." Some of these patterns were struck in gold.

No Irish or Scotch copper were issued in the reign of Anne.

GEORGE I. (1714 to 1727). The coinage of this reign remained the same in weight and value as in the preceding; the bust of the king was executed in the conventional style of the time, with the Roman mantle and armour, and is turned to the left. The legend on the obverse contains the

titles as well as the name, with (for the first time, as a permanent addition) FIDEI DEFENSOR—"Defender of the faith," abbreviated like the rest, as GEORGIUS D. G. M. BR. FR. ET HIB. REX. F. D. On the reverse his German titles appear, as "Brunsvicensis et Lunenbergensis Dux, Sacra Romani Imperii Archithesaurius et Elector," abbreviated as BRUN. ET L. DUX. S. R. I. A. TH. ET EL. His own arms are not placed in the centre like those of William III., but occupy the fourth shield. The marks indicating the derivation of the silver are continued as in the preceding reign; some having also "S. S. C." for that received from the South Sea Company, and some a plume and linked "C's" for a Welsh copper company. The large pieces have on the edge their date, and that of the year of the reign; those of 1718 having QUINTO, &c.

The maundy money has the bust, with GEORGIUS DEI GRA., and on the reverse a crowned numeral, with the king's English titles only. It is a fact rather disgraceful to English skill, that in this reign the coins issued in the petty state of Brunswick, for circulation in the king's foreign dominions, are far better in execution than the English ones. Many of their devices are of a very different character to those of the English coinage.

Crocker was still the chief engraver of the mint; but towards the close of the reign assistants were appointed. These were Ocks (a Swiss), Tamer, and Rolles, who possibly assisted in some of the later dies, which exhibit slight variations from the usual character.

Of the scarcity of silver in this reign much has been said. It was certainly insufficient for the circulation required. Many distinguished men were consulted on this and other matters connected with the coinage; and in 1717 Sir Isaac Newton, still master of the mint,* in his report previously alluded to, stated that "if silver money should become a little scarcer, people would refuse to make payments in silver."

Specimen No. 6, Plate 12, is a crown. The crowns, shillings, and six-pences have the same devices. The guinea, minted in the Tower as twenty shillings, was reduced from its current rate of twenty-two shillings to twenty-one shillings. The gold coins of the realm were five-pound pieces, two-pound pieces, guineas, half-guineas, and for the first time (by that name) quarter-guineas. They had the same devices as those of the silver coins, with the exception of the omission of drapery on the bust, and the addition of the sceptres in the angles of the cross on the reverse.

Specimen 7, Plate 12, is a two-pound piece; and guineas, halves, and quarter-guineas, or five-shilling pieces, were issued of the same device.

There are five-pound pieces of 1716, 1717, 1720, and 1726. In those of 1717, the "D." in Decus on the edge is engraved backwards, as Q . The two-guineas are of the pattern of the five-pound pieces of 1716, and are of the dates 1717, 1720, and 1726. There are guineas of every year, from 1714 to 1727. There is a variety of the date of 1714, with the date at the side of the shield of England. Those of the dates 1721 and 1726, have the small elephant and castle. From 1723 to 1727 the heads are in higher relief, but

* "He was appointed Master of the Mint in 1697, in the reign of William III."—*Snelling*.

the dies are supposed to have still been executed by Crocker. There is, however, a variety with the date of 1727 in which the portrait has the neck longer, and the device of the reverse executed in a poorer manner, which is supposed to be the work of Ocks. The half-guineas are of the type of the guineas of 1716. The ribbon of the laurel shows two ends. There are half-guineas of the dates 1717-18-19-22-25-26-27. Quarter-guineas were first issued with that name in this reign. They were intended to remedy, to some extent, the scarcity of silver; but only £37,180 worth of them were struck, and of these a great many were kept as pocket-pieces, and never got into circulation.

The copper coinage was much extended in this reign; above £46,000 worth having been issued in 1717, when the pound avoirdupois was coined into twenty-eight pence. Specimen No. 10, Plate 12, is a farthing.

The Britannia on the halfpenny now became more like that of the Roman coin from which it was originally taken.

In Ireland a patent was granted to William Wood, Esq., to coin copper halfpence and farthings for Ireland; they were issued in 1722 and 1723; they have Hibernia on the reverse, leaning on a harp—one variety being a front figure beneath a rock. (No. 18, Plate 22.) They became known as "Hibernias." In 1722 the same Mr. William Wood obtained a patent for coining small money in America; and to profit by this speculation he coined thirteen shillings out of a pound of brass. His money was, however, refused, and never formed a currency. The types of these coins were, the king's head (George I.) on the obverse, with his name and titles; and a rose, or rose and crown, on the reverse, with the legend, ROSA AMERICANA, UTILE ET DULCE.

Of Indian money it may be remarked that Tutanaque pice belong to this reign; they are of tin, and very light. The types resemble those of former pice, being a large crown on the obverse, like the crown on the siege pieces of Charles I., above which are the letters G. R., and below BOMB.; the legend, AUSPICIO REGIS ET SENATUS ANGLIÆ, occupies the whole reverse, with the date 1718.

The sovereigns of England, after the accession of George, issued a distinct class of money in their German dominions, till the separation of Hanover by the accession of the female line to the English throne. The largest Hanoverian silver of George I. was the rix dollar, the head on the obverse of which is finely executed. The next piece was the gulden or florin, two-thirds of a dollar: obverse, the arms as on the English coins; and reverse, a wild man holding a tree. The one-third dollar had a well-executed figure of St. Andrew on the reverse; and the one-quarter dollar, the Hanoverian galloping horse—a very pretty type, and well executed. There was also the twelfth of a dollar, with a horse for the type of the obverse, and the value, in German, on the reverse. The piece of four mariengroschen had the arms, crowned, on the obverse, and the value on the reverse; the half of that piece had the crowned cypher, "G. R.," on the obverse.

The farthing of George I., engraved in Plate 12, No. 10, is one of the year 1717; but there is another of 1723, with the head in much better relief.

GEORGE II. (1729 to 1760). No change took place in the weight, value, &c., of the coinage during this reign. The king's head was again reversed, as had now become customary, and his bust consequently turns to the right. The titles were GEORGIUS II. DEI GRATIA, as in the reign of his father. On the reverse a change took place in the arrangement of the full title, which stands thus: M. B. F. ET H. REX F. D. B. ET L. D. S. R. I. A. T. ET E., being a new abbreviation of the English titles, followed by a still more close abbreviation of the German ones, as will be perceived on referring to the version of them given at page 157. Some alteration was made in this reign in the pattern, lined or notched at the edges of the shillings, sixpences, &c.; for although the ornamented edge had put a stop to the old clipping system, filing was now resorted to for robbing the coin; by which means, after a portion of the edge had been removed, the upright or diagonal lines might be restored by the file. To remedy this evil, a serpentine line, very difficult to imitate by the file, was adopted about 1740. In addition to the previous marks indicating the different sources of the metal, the word LIMA occurs on those coins minted from the silver captured either by Lord Anson, in the great Acapulco galleon, or, as some think, by the "Prince Frederic," and "The Duke" privateers. Others have an elephant, for the silver imported by the African Company. The Roman armour of the bust differs from that of George I. in having a lion's head for ornament at the shoulder. The dies in the beginning of the reign were still engraved by Crocker, that is, up to 1739, and these are called the young head. After that date, those with the old head were engraved by Tamer.

Specimen No. 8, Plate 12, is a half-crown coined in the year of the invasion of the Pretender, 1745. The reverse has the roses, indicating West of England silver. No. 8½ is the obverse of a half-crown, with LIMA beneath the portrait. The maundy money appeared as usual. The large silver pieces have their date and the year of the reign on the edge.

Of the gold coins the quarter-guinea was omitted in this reign. Up to this time a number of the old hammered coins of James I., Charles I., and Charles II., were still in circulation as *broad pieces*—an appropriate name for the old thin rials and angels. Their circulation was now forbidden by enactment.

The principal gold coins minted were guineas and half-guineas, only a few five-pound and two-pound pieces being struck. The guinea was, by proclamation, in 1737, raised to 22s. 9d., and foreign gold coins passing in this country, principally Portuguese, settled at proportionate rates. The designs of the reverses of the gold coins were changed in this reign, and the old garnished shield, somewhat varied, again adopted in place of the four shields disposed as a cross. The disposition of the arms which was thus abandoned on the gold was, however, continued on the silver coins.

The five-pound pieces with plain edge are very rare. In 1739 the king's monetary portrait was altered, by the new engraver, Tamer, to make it accord with his increased age; but none being ready for the

five-guineas, the young head was still used in 1704. In 1741 the dies with the old head were ready for the five-guinea pieces. Those of that year (1741) have LIMA. There are others of the same type of 1748 and 1753: there was no peculiarity in the gold coinage of the smaller pieces, and quarter-guineas were no longer coined. The four shields were still used for the reverses of the silver coinage; but the gold quarterings were arranged on one large shield.

Specimen No. 9, Plate 12, is a two-pound piece.

The first coinage of copper halfpence and farthings in this reign was under warrant of Queen Caroline (in 1738), for the time guardian of the realm. There were forty-six halfpence coined out of the pound avoirdupois. Though the false coining of gold or silver had been made high treason, the coining of copper money was only deemed a misdemeanour, and the increased penalty of this reign only made the punishment two years' imprisonment; which slight punishment, in comparison to that for forging gold and silver coins, was perhaps one cause of the great quantity of false copper money now put into circulation. Birmingham was the chief seat of these illegal mints, though destined afterwards to become the legitimate centre of the whole copper coinage of the country, in the great works at Soho. Up to this time, however, the copper coinage appears to have been still considered a temporary expedient only. No moneys were worked in this reign but at the Tower, and in the king's German dominions.

The copper coinage of George II. presents no remarkable feature. The specimen No. 7½, Plate 12, is a halfpenny of 1742 (given in Ruding); the reverse, Britannia, very like that of the Roman coins, but stiff, and poor in style.

For Ireland, copper pence and halfpence were issued in this reign, only differing from the English in the crowned harp of the reverse.

For America a small issue of brass pennies was made. The king's head on the obverse, and on the reverse a rose, crowned, with the legend, ROSA AMERICANA, UTILE ET DULCE.

The German money of George II. was of similar types to those of George I. (see page 159), but very little was issued.

GEORGE III. (1760 to 1820). This prince, on succeeding to the throne of his grandfather, did not attempt to issue a silver coinage, although the currency was scanty in amount, and of decreased value from excessive wear and filing, which all the precautions of the last reign had not been able effectually to prevent. In 1762 and 1763 a small amount of coin (£5,791) was issued, but of what denomination is not stated. In this coinage, and till 1787, one pound of silver of 11 oz. 2 dwts. fine, to 18 dwts. alloy, was coined into sixty-two shillings. But Mr. Hawkins supposes it was not from dies of George III., as no coinage (except the maundy money) is known with his portrait*

* Very poorly done on the maundy money, till the issue (or patterns) of 1798, called the wire-money, on which the head is very beautifully executed in low relief.

before 1763, when shillings to the amount of £100 (!) were struck for distribution to the populace of Dublin, when the Earl of Northumberland became Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. A coinage, however, was in contemplation, as evinced by the pattern shilling of 1764. In 1780 a proposal was made, but without success, to take the coinage out of the hands of the sovereign, abolishing the mint establishment, and vesting the power of coining in the Bank of England. After such a proposition it seems almost incredible that still no serious issue of silver money took place until 1787, twenty-seven years after the accession of the king, and more than the average length of a long reign. Yet, in 1772, the bad state of the coinage offered such temptations to forgery, that £1,136 was granted, over and above the £600 per annum allowed in the reign of George II., for prosecuting forgers. The year 1787 was marked by an issue of £55,459 in shillings and sixpences. The shillings had the king's bust, much in the same modern Roman style as that of his predecessor, but stiff and less bold in execution, though an improvement on the shilling of 1763. On the reverse these shillings resembled, both in type and legend, those of George II., except that in the last mentioned the crowns are between the shields instead of over them. As the silver pieces in circulation in this country at the time were all light, and, in many instances, worn quite smooth, the new shillings soon found their way to the melting pot, being worth considerably more than the old ones. The sixpences issued were exactly like the shillings, and shared their fate. These small batches of new coins soon disappearing, the currency became more and more scanty and depreciated, and no great effort was made, on the part of the government, to remedy the evil, with the exception of the copper money struck by Messrs. Boulton & Watt, of Soho, Birmingham, in 1797.

Some time afterwards, however, the bad state of the silver coinage was somewhat alleviated by the sanction of the Bank tokens of five-shillings, &c., which were well executed coins. They had on the obverse the king's head, much in the style of that which appeared on the great new coinage of 1817, and on the reverse the words BANK TOKEN, in a wreath of oak and bay, with the value. The tokens of the Bank of Ireland were of a similar class, and equally well executed: they consisted chiefly of three-shilling pieces, and of the well-known tenpennies, silver pieces resembling an English shilling.

This wretched state of the national coinage, inconceivable as it may appear, was allowed to go on, getting gradually worse and worse, till the year 1803, when it was attempted to patch up the grievance by stamping Spanish dollars,* for circulation, with a mark like that used at Goldsmiths' Hall for stamping silver plate. In the following year this stamp was changed for a small octagon containing the king's head; and about the same time an arrangement was made with Mr. Boulton, of Soho, near

* The ancient Greeks also stamped the coins of another town or state with a countermark, when they accepted them for public circulation.

Birmingham, to stamp the entire face of the dollar with a device, by means of machinery, the result of the great inventions in the application of steam-power, recently rendered practicable by Watt.

In 1798 Messrs. Dorrien and Company had endeavoured to remedy the scarcity of silver money to some extent, by sending bullion to the Tower to be coined on their own account, according to the Act of Charles II., upon payment of certain dues. But after it was coined, the government of this unfortunate period, destined ever to be obstructive, caused it all to be melted down, on the plea that a coinage could not be lawful without a proclamation; so that this attempt on the part of the public to right the grievance themselves was rendered unavailing by the government. These coins, of which a very few specimens escaped the crucible, were, with the exception of the date, exactly like those of 1787.

A small issue of shillings, sixpences, and maundy money, took place in 1797 and 1798, the heads on which are very much more beautifully executed than those of any other coins of the reign. Some consider them to have been only patterns: they are known among collectors as the *wire* money, from the very slender numerals on the maundy pieces. (No. 14, Plate 12.) The dies of these pieces are said to have been executed by Ocks, who had been attached to the mint ever since the close of the reign of George I.

It was not till 1816, during the regency of the Prince of Wales, that it was determined to meet the difficulties of a new coinage. This event was, perhaps, more owing to the activity and energy of Messrs. Boulton and Watt, than to any initiative feeling on the part of the government. Those gentlemen had, in the copper coinage confided to them in 1797, proved the efficacy of their vast machinery, and had scientifically considered all the principles upon which the coinage of a great nation ought to be conducted, especially as regards its protection from the clipper and filer, and from the effects of legitimate wear and tear. The first safeguard was obtained by such further improvements in ornamenting the edges as rendered manual imitation almost impossible; and the second, the protection of the impress, by preventing it from rubbing against other coins, was to a great extent effected by a rim round the extreme edge, raised somewhat higher than the relief of the device. Many beautiful and successful specimens were produced; and at length, by these facilities, and the arrival of the grievance at an insupportable height, the government was stimulated to meet the difficulty. Messrs. Boulton and Watt erected machinery in the Royal Mint similar to their own at Soho, and a new coinage began in earnest.

The French Revolution had worked great changes, not only in politics, but in art, throughout Europe; and the new coinage was consequently in a totally different style of design to all previous ones. The Parisian school of painting, founded by David, had thrown off the flattering pomposity of the pseudo-Roman style of the earlier portions of the eighteenth century, and aimed at copying nature through the artistic medium of the statuesque simplicity of Greek models. However full of exaggeration the new style may be said to have been, it led the way to a much better and more natural school

of art than that which had sprung up about the period of Louis XIII., and had been growing gradually worse till the revolution of 1784; even more characterless in England than on the Continent. The dies for the new coinage were executed by Wyon; and, influenced by the general new feeling in art, he abandoned the conventional Roman armour and mantle, and produced a simple laureated bust, founded upon the best antique models—those of Greece now furnishing the style rather than those of Rome, which, in the previous phase of art, had been filtered down to the most insipid conventional mannerism; whilst the new school, with all its defects, set forward with fresh and more invigorating influences. The design adopted was a laureated head, with the bust undraped; too familiar to require description. The reverse also was changed, and the old disposition of the four shields as a cross entirely abandoned. In February, 1817, the issue of the new half-crowns, shillings, and sixpences, took place, and all who recollect that event bear witness to the agreeable impression produced, and the extraordinary beauty the coins appeared to possess, after the flat, bent, and battered bits of silver, so far below their nominal value, that had been long made to pass current as the coin of the realm. The old shillings were about one-quarter, and the sixpences one-third, less than their proper value.

The new pieces were indeed, in mechanical execution, the finest that had ever been issued in Europe, and the artistic merit of the devices was very considerable. One of the principal defects was a coarse or, perhaps, brutal expression in the face of the king's portrait, which, at the time, led to its being vulgarly termed the "Whitechapel Butcher."

Crown-pieces were soon afterwards issued, having on the reverse the national device of St. George and the Dragon, founded upon that which had appeared on the George noble of Henry VIII., but in the new school of art, the knight in armour being superseded by a *classical* naked figure, wearing only a Greek helmet. This attempt to exhibit on the coinage a work of art of a class superior to the trivialities of heraldic blazonry, was made by Pistrucci, whose work did not, however, give the satisfaction it deserved, and was over-severely criticized. This group of St. George and the Dragon is, it is said, nearly an absolute copy of a figure in a battle-piece on one of the famous antique gems of the Orleans collection; but several Greek coins which I could point out might equally well have furnished the model. It is on the whole a spirited performance; but the improvement it might have effected in the style of the art displayed on our coinage was completely swamped by the petty jealousies and bickerings caused by the introduction of Pistrucci to the mint, on the ground of his being a foreigner, though nearly all the die engravers had been foreigners since the introduction of the Roettiers, in the reign of Charles II. He had previously engraved a similar figure upon the twenty-shilling gold coin of the new issue, again termed a "sovereign" after a lapse of three centuries. The silver crown of George III. is now getting scarce; and the handsome reverse becoming better appreciated, collectors give from twenty to thirty shillings, and even more, for well-preserved specimens.

On the half-crowns, which were engraved by Wyon, there was no artistic device on the reverse, the usual armorial bearings being displayed on a simple shield, with the arms of Hanover on an escutcheon of pretence; the legend was, BRITANNIARUM REX, FID. DEF.: in the garniture of the shield are the letters W. W. P., for William Wellesley Pole, master of the mint; and W. for Wyon, the engraver: the edge is ornamented with a peculiar notching, and not lettered like the half-crowns of the preceding reigns.

The shillings were engraved by Wyon, from a bust cut in jasper by Pistrucci.

The maundy money had the new bust on the obverse, but the reverse had only the crowned numerals as before.

On the issue of this new money, individuals received, in exchange for old coins, new ones equal in amount to the *nominal* value of the old, the loss falling upon the general revenue. Twenty stations were established in different parts of London for effecting the exchange, which, with the assistance of the bankers, was carried through in an incredibly short space of time.

Of this great re-coinage of 1817, when the style of the coins was totally changed, as described, I do not think it necessary to give examples, as all the coins then struck are still in circulation; and very numerous specimens are, I hope, in the pockets and cash-boxes of all my readers.

The latest illustrations in this work are, therefore, with the exception of the crown and florin and bronze coinage of Victoria, the earlier coins of this reign, before the change of style. Nos. 11 and 12, Plate 12, are the first shilling issued in 1763. No. 13, Plate 12, is the obverse of a shilling of the issue of 1787. The first maundy money was like that of the previous reign. No. 14, Plate 12, is a threepenny piece of the *wire-money*, as it was termed, on account of the slender Arabic numerals.

The gold coinage of George III. was not quite so long neglected as that of silver. But, nevertheless, the issues were scanty and insufficient. In the year of the king's accession a gold coinage took place, and there are guineas of that date, and likewise of almost every year between 1761 and 1774. These issues were of guineas and half-guineas, the larger pieces being merely struck as medals. In the following year quarter-guineas were again struck as in the reign of George I.; and a subsequent gold coinage took place in 1770, when forty-four guineas and a-half were coined out of every pound weight of gold, 22 carats fine to 2 carats of alloy (crown gold). Seven-shilling pieces were issued in addition to the quarter-guineas in this coinage.*

In 1774 the head on the guinea was changed for one resembling, though in poor relief, a beautiful *pattern* to be afterwards referred to.

In 1787 a new gold coinage took place, and the guineas, known as "spade guineas," appeared: they were so called from the shield on the reverse, which

* In 1793 the gold coinage had become so deteriorated that it was found necessary to obtain a grant of £230,000, to cover the cost of calling in the light gold; which, however, was a step in the right direction.

was quite simple, and of the form of a pointed spade. The latest date I have seen on guineas of this pattern is 1799.

Then comes the last guinea, that of 1813. It has the head in a more modern style, and the reverse is also of a totally new character, having the arms in a *small circle*, enclosed in a "garter." The half-guineas followed nearly the same course, the improved head appearing about 1774, and the spade pattern about 1787; but half-guineas with the arms enclosed in a garter appeared as early as 1801, and I have seen specimens with the date of each year up to 1813. Guineas of this type were probably prepared at the same time, but I have only seen them of the date of 1813.*

The seven-shilling pieces have on the reverse a crown, but without a lion, as on the *pattern* to be referred to. The head on the early ones is very bad, but in 1804 it was changed for one similar to that on the half-guineas. Next came the twenty-shilling piece of 1817, once more termed a *sovereign*; the term "guinea," which first came into use in the reign of Charles II., finally disappearing.

The wretched state of the coinage throughout the greater part of this reign, though it did not, till the eleventh hour, stimulate the government to any effectual remedy, yet produced a certain extent of activity in the preparation of patterns,† and other such preliminary steps. The most remarkable gold patterns prepared are as follow:—

First, a finely-executed piece, dated 1772, the head of which is superior to that on any gold coin really issued up to 1817. It was poorly imitated on the guineas from 1774 to 1787.

Secondly, a curious pattern, called Mahon's, or Lord Stanhope's pattern: the head is very poor, and executed in a wretched wiry manner, which it is said his lordship considered a style likely to "wear well." This pattern has a curious border or edging, by which it is easily distinguished.

In 1798 a pattern guinea was proposed by Messrs. Boulton and Watt, of the same design as the large penny they coined for the government in 1797, with the raised rim and sunk letters. This style looks very well in gold.

There is a pattern seven-shilling piece of 1775, with the rose, shamrock, and thistle, crowned, for the reverse.

There is also a pattern half-guinea, having, with a view to durability, the portrait *sunk* instead of raised—an approach to the *incavo-relievo* style of the Egyptians, recommended for the new coinage of Victoria by Mr. Bonomi.

THE COPPER COINAGE OF GEORGE III.

The copper coinage received no more attention in the early part of this reign than the silver. The following are the only remarkable events

* I should state that these notes on the guineas of George III. are made from the collection in the British Museum, which I have since been informed is far from complete.

† *Patterns*, as previously explained, are such pieces as were not executed in quantity, and were never issued.

connected with it. In 1770 the sovereignty of the Isle of Man was purchased of the Duke and Duchess of Athole for £70,000, when copper was struck for circulation in the island, having for its device the three joined legs, the armorial device of the island.*

The general copper currency was in such a state about 1784 that private tokens were again tolerated. These tradesmen's tokens began with the Anglesea penny, and continued to spread in great variety, forming in themselves an interesting collection of medals, till superseded by the national copper coinage of 1797; in the July of which year a contract was entered into with Mr. Boulton, of Soho, near Birmingham, for coining 500 tons of copper, in pennies only.

The result of this contract was the production of the large, boldly-executed pennies still current, which have the inscription *sunk* in the raised rim, with a view to its longer preservation. The whole pattern was thought so striking, that a pattern guinea was made from the same design. The die for this penny was executed by a German artist, in the employ of Messrs. Boulton, and a "K" exists on some of the coins—the initial of his name (*Kuglder*). There were twopenny pieces of this type, which are very handsome, and they are much sought by collectors, if in good condition.

The penny pieces of this issue were popularly known as the cart-wheel pattern, from the flat raised rim above referred to. These pieces originally weighed exactly one ounce avoirdupois, being intended, in addition to its use as a coin, to serve as a standard of weight, which might become a check upon the dishonesty of small retail dealers, as the purchaser could, at any time, put his penny piece into the scale instead of the ounce weight of the dealer, whenever reasons for suspicion of its full weight arose. Two years later, however, it was found necessary to decrease the weight of these handsome pence; for manufacturers requiring copper, found it cheaper to melt them down than to purchase new copper. In the next issue eighteen pennies instead of sixteen were coined out of the pound of copper, and the fanciful notion of making the copper penny an example of the standard ounce avoirdupois was abandoned. In 1805 a still further reduction in the size of the pence was found necessary, in consequence of a further rise in the value of copper, and twenty-four pence were coined out of the pound. This issue was not of the cart-wheel pattern, but of the much commoner type of the copper of George III., much of which is still in circulation.

Arago, in his popular biographies of great men, says, incidentally, "It was Boulton who re-coined for the English government the whole copper specie of the United Kingdom. The economy and excellence with which this great work was accomplished rendered counterfeits nearly impossible."†

* See next section, "Coinage of the Channel Islands."

† Previous to that time, when the whole of the copper in circulation was so much worn that scarcely any device was visible, and worn out coins of all nations were in circulation in the country as genuine national coins, forgeries were carried on to an enormous extent.

"The executions" (for the crime of false coining), which, in Birmingham and London, were till then, unhappily, of frequent occurrence, altogether ceased. It was on occasion of this result that Dr. Darwin exclaimed, in one of the notes to his *Botanic Garden*, "If a civic crown was given in Rome for preserving the life of one citizen, Mr. Boulton should be covered with garlands of oak!" The celebrated Soho Mint, at which this unparalleled rapidity and excellence in the art of coinage was so suddenly achieved, through the medium of Watt's wonderful improvements in the application of steam-power, was established in the year 1788; and between that time and the year 1808, no less than 3,531 tons of copper were coined there. Such was the acknowledged success of the system adopted, and such the evident superiority to the government method then in use, that Mr. Boulton was employed to construct similar machinery for the new Royal Mint erected on Tower Hill. The machinery then erected in that building, not only performed all that was proposed, but was so perfect in all its leading features, that at the present day, after fifty years' constant employment, it continues to work with as great perfection as at the time it was set up; and notwithstanding the great improvements that have taken place in the structure of steam machinery in general, only a few very minor alterations have been thought advisable in the principles then adopted, and which at present appears scarcely to admit of ameliorations. The fame of the machinery constructed by Boulton for the British mint soon reached other countries, and he was called upon to furnish similar plants of machinery for the Royal Mints of St. Petersburg and Copenhagen.

So much better was this undertaking conducted at Soho, that though Mr. Boulton included many things not mentioned in mint estimates, he coined more cheaply, and yet gained a profit. Indeed, so convinced was the government of his more business-like views in the management of the undertaking, that they were glad to allow him to find his own copper for a subsequent coinage.

The annexed engraving, No. 15, Plate 12, is the reverse of a halfpenny of one of the coinages of 1799.

Specimen No. 19, Plate 22, is the penny coined in 1805 for Ireland, with the crowned harp on the reverse.

COINAGE OF THE CHANNEL ISLANDS AND COLONIES.

Ancient coins are frequently found in the Isle of Man, supposed to be of the early sovereigns of the island, Godred, Fingal, Lagman, Olave, &c., &c., some of them bearing the names of these princes, whose authority seems to have extended from about 1050 to near the end of the twelfth century. In the year 1406 Henry IV. granted this island, with all its regalities, to Sir Thomas Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby.

The earliest money coined by this family is dated 1723; it has the arms of Man, the three legs, on the obverse, with QUOCUNQUE JECERIS STABIT, and

1. D. for "James Earl of Derby," or rather "Jacobus Darbiensis," and below 1, for one halfpenny. The reverse is the crest of the Derby family, and the motto *SANS CHANGER*. Their last coins have on the reverse a cipher, formed of the initials "A. D.," beneath an imperial crown, and date, 1758.

After 1770 copper money was coined for the use of the Isle of Man, with the local device of the three legs, but omitting all reference to the Derby family. Some copper pieces were struck for Man, in the style of the heavy penny of George III., with the old mottoes *sunk* round the edge.

For Guernsey and Jersey copper money was also coined in this reign, with the local types or arms. The money of the states of Jersey has generally their arms, the shield with three leopards, with the legend, *STATES OF JERSEY*, and the date; on the reverse, the value, within a wreath of oak. The coins of Guernsey have a shield with three lions, and *GUERNSEY*; and on the reverse the value (as *four doubles*), and the date.

One of the British coins struck for America in this reign was a halfpenny, for Virginia, having the bust of the king on the obverse, and on the reverse the royal arms, crowned, and *VIRGINIA*, 1773. This was the last coin struck for America, the United States having soon after detached themselves permanently from the parent country.

In addition to these issues, notwithstanding the great neglect of the home currency, the great increase of our colonial empire caused a remarkable variety of colonial coin to be struck, of which the following selection will convey a sufficient general idea.

For Fort Marlboro' (Bencoollee) half-dollars were issued as early as 1783; they were made in the style of the native money, having Persian legends on the obverse; but on the reverse, *FORT MARLBORO'*, in English, with the date.

In 1791 a copper piece was issued by the Sierra Leone Company, having a lion on the obverse, with *AFRICA* in the exergue, and *SIERRA LEONE COMPANY* for the legend. The reverse had two clasped hands, and the legend *1 PENNY*, with the date.

In 1793 copper was coined for the use of Bermuda, having the usual bust, &c., on the obverse, and a ship, with *BERMUDA*, 1793, on the reverse.

In 1788 copper coin was issued for Barbadoes, having on the obverse a negro's head, wearing the Prince of Wales feathers, and having the motto, *I SERVE*. The reverse was a pine apple, with *BARBADOES PENNY*, and the date. Another Barbadoes coin of 1792 has on the reverse the king, in a marine car, holding a trident.

In 1802 and 1809 copper and silver coinages were issued for Ceylon, the silver rude and rough, but the copper piece well executed. It is a stiver, the Dutch coinage having been current there. Another large copper coin, of the size of a penny, the principal type being an elephant, was issued for Ceylon.

In 1806 copper was coined for the use of Bahama, the reverse being a ship, with *BAHAMA*, and in the exergue, *REPULSIS PIRATIS RESTITUTA COMMERCTA*—suggested, no doubt, by the well-known Roman coin of Pompey the Great, struck to commemorate his destruction of the pirates of the Mediterranean, who had ravaged the Roman coasts at that time.

In 1809 handsome silver tokens of three shillings were issued for Essequibo and Demerara, having on the reverse a large Arabic 3, crowned, between oak branches, with the name of the colonies and the date; and a similar issue, rather thicker and smaller, appeared in 1811.

In 1813 a copper coin, of the same type and size, called a stiver, was issued, of the value of about a penny.

To dispose of all the money of this class issued by George III., I may also mention in this place that in 1819 copper money was struck for the use of the Ionian Islands, having a figure of Britannia on the obverse, and on the reverse a winged lion, &c., and the legend, in Greek characters ΙΟΝΙΚΟΝ ΚΡΑΤΟΣ,—“The government of Ionia.” (See No. 3, Plate 23.)

The German money issued by George III. was very various. The two-third dollar had a well-executed portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse $\frac{2}{3}$ in large Arabic ciphers, similar to those of his English wire-money. The one-third dollar had the arms on the reverse, with $\frac{1}{3}$ in small numerals below; and the one-sixth, a similar type, had the arms within the garter.

The twelfth of a thaler (1815) had the type of the galloping horse of Hanover for the obverse, and the value on the reverse.

The marien-gros and four pfennings had an interlaced cipher, “G. R.,” crowned, and on the reverse the values, in German, with the date. The gold issue consisted of the ten-thaler piece (1814) and the pistole (1803), both having on the obverse the galloping horse, with the king’s titles for the legend; on the reverse, the values, &c. The ducat (date 1815) had the same types; but on the reverse is the legend, EX AURO HARCINLÆ, denoting that it was made of gold from the mines of the Hartz forests.

The brass or copper of the German dominions was always considered insignificant, in consequence of the abundance of small base silver, the marien-groschen, &c.; but in 1814 a piece of one pfenning scheide münzt was issued, having the royal cipher, crowned, on the obverse, and the value on the reverse. It is about the size of a farthing.

The German money continued similar till the separation of Hanover, which took place on the accession of the female line to the English throne, in the person of Victoria I.

GEORGE IV. (1820 to 1830). During this reign the silver coinage continued of the same values and denominations as the recent coinage of the previous reign. Most of the pieces have the initials of Pistrucci, “B. P.,” who engraved all the first dies. The George and Dragon was slightly altered for the crowns, the design being somewhat larger. In 1824 the king disapproved of the likeness on the coins, and the bust of Chantrey being just completed, Pistrucci was directed to copy it in a series of new dies; but he declined imitating the work of another artist, and the dies after Chantrey’s bust were consequently executed by Wyon; after which time Pistrucci enjoyed a sinecure in his appointment in the mint. In the bust after Chantrey, which is a highly-flattered likeness, the king is represented without the laurel, which, as an emblem of victory, was considered inappropriate, no war having taken place in his reign. These pieces, the reverses of which were engraved

by Merlin, are very beautiful. As a somewhat obsolete symbol, the laurel was thought unlikely ever to be renewed; but since the Crimean war it has been adopted on the coinage of Victoria. A great improvement on the immediately preceding coins was effected in the armorial bearings, by leaving out the *lines* indicative of the colour of the respective fields, which had rather confused the effect of the design of the coins of 1817 and succeeding years.

A new reverse for the shillings was adopted in 1825, consisting of a sprig of rose, thistle, and shamrock, united under a crown. It had been proposed for gold seven-shilling pieces in 1775, when patterns only were struck.

The maundy money has the bust like the early coins of this reign, the new bust never being adopted for these small coins; the reverses have the numerals, crowned, between oak branches, and the date. Further particulars, respecting the slight differences of each separate issue are superfluous in this place, as most of the coins are still in circulation.

The gold underwent similar reforms as to the head of the king, the flat laureated head by Pistrucci giving place to the Chantrey head by Wyon; and there are double-sovereigns, sovereigns, and half-sovereigns, of this type. The double-sovereigns are most beautiful coin, the head in bold relief, and very simple and grand in effect. Five-pound pieces were also struck, but not for general circulation.

The copper coins underwent similar alterations, the old Britannia becoming a more Minerva-like figure, with a Greek helmet; and the Chantrey bust, without the laurel, being adopted on the later pennies, halfpennies, and farthings.

The copper coined for Ireland was still distinguished by the crowned harp on the reverse.

I shall not again refer to the colonial money till the end of this volume, when it will be necessary to devote a final paragraph to the British money coined in India. I must, however, note in this place that a project appears to have been entertained in this reign for issuing a general colonial coinage to circulate in the British dependencies in all parts of the world, with suitable types and legends. In 1823 a pattern for this projected coinage was prepared, having the king's head and titles on the obverse, the value, as $\frac{1}{160}$ dollar, with a wreath, on the reverse, and the date 1823; or, with the royal arms on the obverse, the titles in the legend, and a crowned anchor on the reverse, with an abbreviated Latin legend: COLONIA.(rum) BRITTA.(niæ) MONET.(a), and the date, 1823.

The German money issued in this reign was of small bulk, and mostly of the old types and legends, for which see previous reigns.

In this reign some colonial money for Demerara was issued; a fine three-shilling piece, similar to those of former reigns, and a *guilder*, similar in size and types to the English shilling.

WILLIAM IV. (1830 to 1837). The Duke of Clarence ascended the throne on the death of his brother, and arrangements were made for a new coinage, exactly on the same principles as those of the last coins of the preceding reign.

Pattern crowns, issued only in small number for the cabinets of collectors, had the arms on the reverse, in a plain shield, displayed on a mantle of ermine. The half-crowns, of the same pattern, with slight exceptions, were issued for currency.

The shillings were issued with no armorial device, but with simply ONE SHILLING on the reverse, between a branch of oak and one of laurel: a device affording perhaps still less scope for the talent of the artist than even the armorial bearings. But as long as the office of master of the mint was conferred upon some political adherent, without regard to his fitness for its duties, little reform in the style of art adapted to the coinage could be expected.* The maundy money of this reign has the numerals, between similar branches of oak and laurel to those of the shillings.

The groat, or fourpenny piece, was again issued for currency in this reign, and proved a very useful coin. The reverse is similar to that on the recent copper coins, Britannia helmeted, with a trident, and the legend FOUR PENCE.

The gold coins for circulation were like the last pieces of George IV., having the head without a laurel wreath, and very beautifully executed by Wyon; indeed, a perfectly new impression of one of the sovereigns of this reign forms a very beautiful example of the art of the period. There were only sovereigns and half-sovereigns; the five-pounds and double-sovereigns being only coined in small numbers, and principally issued among collectors.

The copper coins were pennies, halfpennies, and farthings; the devices were modelled after the gold and silver pieces; the head, like that of George IV., without the laurel, the reverses having the figure of Britannia, like those of the last reign. The pennies of this reign have become very scarce, in consequence of the discovery that the copper of which they were made contained gold, each penny being intrinsically worth three halfpence. This discovery soon consigned the whole issue to the melting pot.

The last Anglo-German money was issued in this reign, the types being as before. (See George I., II., and III.)

VICTORIA. The death of the late king in 1837 brought the Princess Victoria, daughter of his brother, the Duke of Kent, to the throne. In this reign no crowns have as yet been issued. The half-crowns have a very pleasing portrait-bust of the Queen, engraved by Wyon, from a wax model taken by himself from the life. The reverse has the shield, crowned, between two branches of laurel. The colours are again expressed, in the arms, by lines in different directions, in the usual heraldic manner—which is certainly not an improvement. These half-crowns were not issued for two years, many causes of delay occurring. The shilling resembles that of the preceding reign, the reverse having ONE SHILLING between oak and laurel branches. The sixpences have the same types as the shillings.

The maundy money has the portrait like the groat (or fourpenny piece),

* Mr. Hawkins, in his excellent work, refers to these misappointments in a spirited and eloquent manner.

but the reverses have the crowned numerals as previously. The groat is still coined for circulation, having the figure of Britannia on the reverse, as in the last reign, and also a threepenny piece, which is distinguishable from the fourpenny even to the touch, by not being notched at the edge. The gold coins are only sovereigns and half-sovereigns, with the portrait by Wyon on the obverse. The larger pieces were only struck as medals, which may be procured by the curious on application at the mint. A pattern has, however, been issued of a five-pound piece, which was originally intended for circulation. (No. 17, Plate 12.) It has a fine head of the queen on the obverse, and the reverse exhibits a step towards a greater display of art. It is said to be a symbolic figure of Una and the Lion, which, though picturesque, appears somewhat far-fetched, and little appropriate. Taken, however, as an idealized female sovereign, holding in one hand the orb and cross, and with the other guiding a lion, as a symbol of the British nation, the device appears more directly appropriate.

A copper coinage was issued upon the same principles as in the two preceding reigns, with the exception of the addition of the half-farthing, suggested by the late Sir Robert Peel—a very pretty little coin, but not struck in sufficient numbers to prove of that convenience to the poor in the purchase of small portions of cheap articles of food, &c., which an abundant issue might have caused them to become, as shown in the case of *cents*, and other small copper money of neighbouring nations.

The copper coins of various reigns, estimated to be in circulation in 1860, in twopenny pieces, pennies, halfpennies, and farthings, in Great Britain and her dependencies, was of the value of £1,203,300 sterling, weighing 5,371 tons, and consisting of nearly 500,000,000 of pieces. It should be stated, however, that the twopenny pieces, all coined between 1788 and 1800, to the number of about 722,000, have disappeared from circulation, and are supposed to have been hoarded as pocket pieces, &c., while the half-farthings are reported to have found their way to Ceylon, where their convenience seems to be fully appreciated.

To replace this vast mass of coin, it is now (1860) proposed to prepare an issue of bronze, which, as being of greater value, will be much more convenient, as being less in bulk and weight. In order to produce the number of the new pieces required to replace the present amount of copper coin within a reasonable time, it will be found necessary to resort again to contractors, as in the case of the mint established at Soho in 1788. This may be easily conceived when it is considered that the Royal Mint cannot strike more than 200,000 pieces (of any metal) per day; so that it would require nearly eight years, supposing even that the coinage of gold and silver could be allowed to stand still for that time. It will, however, be required to do the work within a year, or little more, which renders it evidently impossible to avoid resorting to extraneous assistance.

Specimens are already prepared, the dies of which have been executed by Mr. L. C. Wyon. The figures No. 25 and 26, Plate 23, represent the devices of the obverse and reverse of the penny of the intended bronze

coinage, those of halfpennies and farthings being the same on a relatively smaller scale. The designs appear altogether unsuccessful, the portrait being as unlike as it is unflattering to the queen, and the Britannia being of poorer design than any previous type of the same devices.

The decrease of weight and size, as compared with the present copper coinage, may be readily understood by recollecting, as stated above, that twenty-four pennies are struck out of the pound weight of copper, while a pound weight of bronze will furnish forty pennies. The bronze is composed of ninety-five parts of copper, four parts of tin, and one part zinc. It will have a yellower colour than copper, more approaching, when new, the tone of gold, and will be free from the unpleasant odour which is one of the objections often made to existing copper coinage. With these manifest advantages, it is much to be regretted that better devices were not secured, which, by means of a public competition, with a suitable prize of fitting amount, must easily have been obtained.

It should be stated here, that objections have been made to the issue of this bronze coinage on account of its not being of the intrinsic value which it represents.

A pattern five-shilling piece was prepared in 1847, having the head of the queen, *crowned*, the last example of that mode of representation being the first issue of the reign of Charles II.—rather an unfortunate precedent. On the reverse was revived the pretty device of the four shields arranged as a cross, the angles filled with well-designed branches of rose, shamrock, and thistle. The inscriptions are beautifully executed in old English character, and have a striking effect. (No. 17, Plate 12.) On the whole, notwithstanding many defects, this was a beautiful coin; but it was never worked, on account of petty abuses in the administration of the mint, the reform of which, it was found, would be more troublesome than the abandonment of the new crown, which was therefore set aside till a thorough reform in the constitution of the mint should have taken place.

The present sketch of the coinage during the three last reigns is but a mere outline, as all the circumstances connected with the coins of a period so recent must be too familiar to require further detail, with the exception, perhaps, of the florin, to be referred to in the paragraph on the decimal coinage.

THE ANGLO-INDIAN COINAGE, FROM GEORGE II. TO VICTORIA.

Early in the reign of George II. small copper coins were struck in India, with the dates 1732 and 1734, in large Arabic numerals on one side, and on the other the monogram of the East India Company, H. I. E. C., within a heart, No. 18, Plate 23, is one of 1734. Other coins of similar character were struck at this period. After the capture of Calcutta, the right to establish a mint there was one of the stipulations of the treaty with Suraj ad Doula, dated 7th February, 1757.

It being found that money of the native legends, or types, circulated more freely than with English ones, exact imitations of the native rupees

were issued, even to the defects in the mode of coinage. Thus, the native dies being always made much larger than the piece of metal to be coined, the latter only received a portion of the legends, except when presentation pieces were struck, as on the accession of a new monarch, &c. No. 11, Plate 23, is one of the English rupees of this description, with the Persian legend. It was not, however, till the commencement of the succeeding reign that any great degree of activity took place in the mints of the "Company."

In the reign of George III. many Anglo-Indian coins of different values and denominations were issued. Prior to 1773 the *gidd*, or thick rupee, was coined, which greatly resembled, in general character, the one represented at No. 11, Plate 23, but was smaller and thicker. About the same time, or soon afterwards, imitations of the "Nurshed Abad" rupees of "the 19th sun" were struck at Calcutta. In 1774 or 1775 copper pieces were issued, at Bombay, with the name of the coin, the place of mintage, and date (which is imperfect on my specimen) on the obverse, and the monogram of the Company on the reverse. In 1787 a copper piece was issued, with the monogram of the Company and date on one side, and a Persian inscription, similar to that of the rupees, on the other. In 1787 a rupee with the Company's monogram on one side, and a Persian inscription on the other, very similar in general appearance to the copper pieces last described. In 1790 machinery was forwarded from England for the Calcutta mint, and rupees were at last issued, showing the entire legend on the face of the coin. They were also properly edged, like European coins, and this improvement was shortly afterwards adopted in the mints of Bombay and Madras. No. 13, Plate 23, is a twenty-cash piece of Bombay, of 1791. Subsequently steam-power was adopted in the Calcutta mint, with the aid of which 300,000 pieces might be coined in a single working day of seven hours, and 303,000 pieces have actually been executed within that time.

In 1794 a well executed copper coin was issued, bearing on the obverse the arms of the Company,* surrounded by the motto, AUSPICES REGIS ET SENATUS ANGLIÆ, in sunken letters, and the words, 48 TO ONE RUPEE. On the reverse was the old monogram of the Company, with the legend, UNITED EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1794. Round the rim were also the words, ENGLISH UNITED EAST INDIA COMPANY. This piece resembles, in general character, the large heavy penny executed by Messrs. Boulton and Watt, and the dies were probably prepared by them. In 1795 "pice" of copper were issued, slightly altered from the early Anglo-Indian types of Charles II. and James II. They had legends in the native language and character, adopted from a well-known type of the native money. On the obverse the inscription reads, IN THE 37TH YEAR OF THE REIGN OF SHAH ALEM; and the reverse in Bengalee, Nagari, and Persian letters, ONE PAI SICCA. The term "sicca," in reference both to rupees and "pice" is an allusion to a standard monetary weight of that name. This pie, or rather *pai*, is engraved in Plate 23, No. 12. It was

* It was not till 1835 that it was determined that the Anglo-Indian coinage of the East India Company should thenceforward bear the name of the British sovereign, with English legends, the name of the coin, RUPEE, being repeated in Persian.

afterwards made thicker and smaller, and the legend differently disposed. The Nagari copper was also struck about 1795. Very rudely executed "cash" appeared in 1803, having the monogram of the Company on the obverse, and the date partly off the coin on the reverse. Soon afterwards, however, in the same year, very neatly executed "cash's" were issued, having a lion rampant, with the date on the obverse, and the name and value of the coin in Hindustani and in English on the reverse. (Plate 23, No. 10.) The issue of a coin so perfect, and at the same period one so rude, shows the great want of system existing at that time in the management of the affairs of the mint. A very neatly executed coin appeared in 1804, having the arms of the Company, with supporters, on the obverse, and the scales of justice, with the name of the coin in Persian, on the reverse. A "quarter-pagoda," in silver, was issued at Madras in 1808. This coin bore the same types as the gold pagoda (see 14, Plate 23), having the name QUARTER PAGODA round the pagoda device; and on the reverse the native pagod Vishnu, with the name of the coin in Hindustani. The coin is about the size of a florin. Half-pagodas of the same type were issued at the same time, which are about the size of a five-shilling piece. These coins were superseded by the rupee with the native legends.

A very pretty coinage of silver fanams was issued at Madras in 1808, when machinery similar to that at Calcutta had been introduced. There were fanams, double-fanams, and five-fanam pieces, having similar types to those of the half and quarter-pagodas last described. No. 20, Plate 23, is a five-fanam piece. In 1808, also, ten-cash pieces were issued of very neat execution with the name of the coin in native characters, and beneath, in the exergue, X CASH. (See a twenty-cash piece, No. 21, Plate 23.) In 1816 pice were issued, having the capitals "G. R." interlaced and crowned on the obverse, and on the reverse IV. KAS., 1816.

Star pagodas of gold were again issued in 1817, and about that time another pagoda, known as the "Porta nova Pagoda." The native gold coins which at first circulated at Madras were known as *varahas* or *hoons*, and fanams. The former (No. 9, Plate 23) was, by the English colonists, termed a pagoda, as before stated, the appellation being derived from the Indian pagod of the obverse; the reverse is a representation of the Hindoo deity Vishnu. The English name suggested the type of the subsequent coinage of pagodas, which took place, as stated, in 1817. (See No. 14, Plate 23.) A gold rupee was afterwards substituted in the English mints, having native inscriptions similar to those of the silver rupees. The principal gold coin afterwards received another modification, when the lion rampant, holding a crown, became the type of the obverse, and on the reverse the name of the coin, &c., in native character,—ASHRAFEE OF THE HONOURABLE ENGLISH COMPANY.

The Madras mint had also issued pieces termed *dubs* or *cash-pieces*, being twenty, ten, five, and one-cash piece, some struck at Madras, and some by Messrs. Boulton and Watt. (See Plate 23, No. 21, a twenty-cash piece.) The twenty-cash piece has the Company's arms, and FORTY-EIGHT TO ONE RUPEE, &c., on the obverse, and their value in Persic on the reverse; the

smaller piece has only a lion on the obverse, and the value in Persic on the reverse, &c. At Bombay silver and gold rupees with native legends were coined, as at Calcutta and Madras.

The Bombay mint, when supplied with steam-power, issued the same coin as that of Calcutta. The early copper coins of Bombay, as I have previously stated, were struck in England, before the adoption of the Company's arms for the type of the obverse. The currencies of the Company's possessions to the east of the Bay of Bengal have been principally confined to copper, generally coined in England. They have on the obverse the Company's arms, and on the reverse the native name of the coin, *KEPING*, &c.

The gold rupee was afterwards substituted for these gold pagodas. The gold rupee of the English mints had native inscriptions similar to those of the silver rupees. Up to 1819 there were two other Anglo-English mints in addition to those of Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta—namely, those of Benares and Furrukabad; but after that period no money was issued from those places. The Benares and Furrukabad rupees were similar in character to that figured at No. 11, Plate 20.

The gold rupee afterwards received another modification, when the lion rampant, holding a crown, became the type of the obverse, and on the reverse, in native characters, it had the legend, *THE ASHRAFEE OF THE HONOURABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY*.

A copper coinage was issued in 1825, and a new star pagoda soon afterwards, and the Nagari copper in 1831.

In 1830 rupees in the style of the English coinage, with the portrait of the sovereign on the obverse, were introduced in the Indian mints. The rupee of William IV., issued in 1833, is engraved in Plate 23, at Nos. 15 and 16. In 1835 it was equally determined that the native mohur, the principal gold coin, should be superseded by an English one with English types; the obverse was like the rupee (No. 15, Plate 23), and the reverse consisted of a lion and a palm tree, after a design by Flaxman. (No. 17, Plate 23.)

The rupees and mohurs of Victoria are of the same types; yet, notwithstanding the introduction of these fine coins, as late as 1855, cash as rude as those of the early period were still issued, showing the irregular and incomplete system prevailing in the mints of the Company.

The great military rebellion of 1857, in the British possessions in India, led to the final suppression of the great Company as the governing power of those vast provinces, which now form an integral part of the British empire. A new coinage is therefore in preparation to be struck under the direct auspices of the Imperial Government, of which, if the dies should be completed in time, I hope to give specimens in this volume.

Through the kindness of the Master of the Mint, I have seen the designs for this new Indian coinage, and several of them are very striking. The portraits will resemble those on the florin and pattern crown of Victoria, as in both cases the device extends below the clothed shoulders; and it appears that the native Indians have a strong prejudice against a portrait head cut off at the neck, as suggesting sudden but not unfrequent episodes in Indian regal life,

which are not pleasant to dwell upon. The portrait is enclosed in an elegant quatre-foil compartment of delicate tracery, which appears likely to produce a good effect.

In 1845 copper quarter-cents, half-cents, and cents, were coined for the use of the Straits, and other settlements, but not current in the interior of India. Cash were also coined for the islands of Sumatra, and for the Malay districts.

Ceylon, after it came into our possession, was always supplied with coins struck in England. The elephant formed the principal type till the head of the British sovereign was finally adopted. The silver and copper coinage of Ceylon now consists of very handsome and finely-executed coins, their values being founded on that introduced by the Dutch, of stivers and rix dollars.

A copper coinage has also been struck in England for St. Helena, with the arms of the East India Company on the obverse; and ST. HELENA HALF-PENNY, and the date, with a wreath of laurel, on the reverse.

COLONIAL COINS OF THE REIGN OF VICTORIA.

The island of Mauritius was supplied with British coin in 1822 from the mint of Calcutta, where pieces of fifty and twenty-five sols, of a low standard, were made expressly. The values of the coinage were founded on those of France, and the legends are in French, GOUVERNEMENT DE MAURICE, &c., abbreviated, on the obverse; and on the reverse CINQUANTE SOUS, &c.

This is an outline of the present state of the Anglo-Indian and general colonial coinage; but if the decimal system should be completely established in England, no doubt great modifications will take place both in the Canadian and in the Indian systems, even if they should not be made to assimilate in every respect with the home currency.

THE NEW CANADIAN COINAGE.

In 1858 it was determined to issue, from the Royal Mint in the Tower of London, a coinage for Canada, of silver and copper, which should correspond to some extent with the value of the American gold dollar and its subdivisions, so as to facilitate commercial transactions between the two states. The pieces consist of twenty-cent, ten-cent, and five-cent pieces of silver, and a one-cent piece of copper, or rather bronze, as it consists of ninety-five parts of copper, four of tin, and one of zinc. It is, in weight, one hundredth part of a pound. The silver pieces are relatively of the proximate value of 10*d.*, 5*d.*, and 2½*d.* English money; and appear (being rather thinner) of about the size of a shilling, sixpence, and silver threepence. The type of the silver is, on the obverse, the portrait of the queen, laureated, with VICTORIA. DEI. GRATIA. REGINA., and beneath the head, CANADA. On the reverse, in the centre of the field, is the value and date, as 20 (10 and 5) CENTS, 1858. At the top is a crown, and round the inscription are two branches of the sugar-maple, which, as an emblem, is to Canada what the British oak is to England. (Plate 23, No.

24.) The copper piece has the same portrait and legend as those of the silver coins, but the letters of the legend are larger, and the inscription is separated from the central field of the coin by a circle of beading. On the reverse, too, there is a circular bordering of sugar-maple leaves, instead of the two branches, within which is the inscription, ONE CENT, 1858. (Nos. 22 and 23, Plate 23.)

DECIMAL COINAGE.

The great monetary event of the present reign is the issue of the silver florin, or two-shilling piece, of similar types to those of the pattern crown. (No. 17, Plate 12.) As the tenth of a pound, this piece was intended to mark the first step towards a coinage entirely based upon the decimal principle. The proposed methods of effecting this desirable end remain unsettled, and the merits of the different proposed modes have been rather angrily discussed by their respective supporters.

Something, however, like the following was probably the kind of system most generally approved by those discussing the question:—

The florin to be the principal coin, divisible into twenty-pence, either giving the pence a new name or leaving them the old one; each penny of this increased size to be divided into five smaller pieces, of which one hundred would go to the florin, and one thousand to the pound sterling, which would still remain the unit of all our monetary calculations. It is proposed that the smallest coin, one thousand to the pound, shall be called a *mil*. Accounts might then be kept in three columns as now, the great advantages being, the getting rid of the fourth denomination, halfpence or farthings, and the great comparative ease with which additions can be made. Thus, the sum we should now note as £5 12s. 8*d.*, would stand £5 6*fls.* 40*mils.*, keeping the slight difference in the penny out of the question. Or, as some would have it, making the florin the unit, and only using two columns—56*fls.* 40*mils.* The last is certainly the shortest method, and, as it is by no means unusual to reckon in shillings, up to fifty, and to speak of fifty, or even seventy shillings, rather than two pounds ten, or three pounds ten, the transition to a calculation in florins would not be so difficult as it at first appears.

At best, however, this would be but a kind of patchwork, or half measure; and a far better method, as it appears to me, would be one much more directly founded upon the French system, which was matured after much more serious and scientific consideration than the desultory discussions respecting the question have yet led to in England.

This view would make the shilling the unit, leaving pounds out of the question, and then the transition from a calculation in pounds and shillings, to one in shillings only, would be very simple. The shilling of the present value might then be divided into ten pence instead of twelve, the subdivisions of the penny being five instead of four, each fifth being nearly the value of the present farthing. But this might be for a time disadvantageous to the poorer classes who would probably have to pay the *tenth* of their hard-earned

shilling for all articles charged one penny, instead of only the *twelfth* under the old system. I would therefore suggest, for that, and for other more cogent reasons, that a still greater change be made, and that these new shillings be coined of the value of ten of our present pennies (slightly reduced to make them accord with the French piece of two sous). These pennies should be *theoretically* divided, for purposes of calculation and account, into 10 *milleths* or half *mils*; and in actual coin they should be divided into 5 *mils*. This would give, in actual coins, 5 *mils* to the penny, 50 to the shilling, and 1,000 to the new pound, which should be called a Victoria. With this arrangement, only two columns of figures would be necessary, one for shillings and one for *milleths* (100 to the shilling). Thus a sum, for instance, making 5 Victorias, 12 shillings, 5 *mils*, 0 *milleths*, might be briefly stated as 112 shillings, 10 *mils*. In this system the old pound sterling, represented by 25 shillings new currency (the new shilling being equal to a French franc, 25 of which at par are equal to £1), would remain untouched; and all old engagements made in pounds would remain undisturbed, as 25 shillings new currency would represent the old pound; and all sums new currency might be at once converted to old currency, so long as such a fiction should be desirable, by the simple addition of 25 per cent. new currency to an amount calculated in the new currency. Thus, the sum of 5 Victorias new currency would require the addition of 1 Victoria 5 shillings to convert it into 5 pounds old currency. On the other hand, a tenant holding a house on lease at £100 per annum old currency, would have to pay the equivalent amount of 125 Victorias. By thus leaving the old pound sterling as money of account, represented by 25 shillings new currency, all outstanding engagements would remain undisturbed. Or, if thought advisable, in order to meet certain unavoidable prejudices, the present "sovereign" might still be coined, with the inscription, ONE POUND STERLING, or 2,500 MILS.

This arrangement would render unnecessary all the useless attempts to make the present pound an integral part and basis of a decimal system for which it is not calculated. And the necessity for the florin, a piece of inconvenient amount as the silver unit, would be done away with, which would be a great relief. The new shilling, half-shilling, and quarter-shilling, would be of very nearly the size and dimensions of the Canadian 20, 10, and 5 cent pieces. The Canadian pieces might, with very little disturbance, be made exactly of the same value. The French system would accord with it in every respect; and I would issue a great bulk of five-shilling pieces, to render the accordance with the French system more palpable, leaving entirely out of sight the troublesome incumbrance as to whether our currency is founded upon a gold or a silver standard.

This system would then be applied in Europe, both in France and England, and United Italy would soon follow. In the new world, with Canada going more than half-way to meet the American system, the United States would come the other half to meet us. In India the inconvenience of the "great Company" being removed, the system would be used by 150,000,000 of people, to say nothing of Australia, New Zealand, &c. Thus a great stride would be

made towards an universal decimal currency all over the world; for the other European States would soon feel themselves compelled to come into it. The coming mediatization of the petty sovereignties of Germany will necessarily lead to a revision of the obsolete systems which exist in those small States, to the great inconvenience of the people, and the infinite disgust of travellers; and the outlying secondary powers would necessarily fall into a system so nearly universal. Turkey and Egypt are sufficiently cursed with their present systems to be ready to adopt any European system; and even retrogressive Spain may be brought to see her interest in adopting the change, and so facilitating her commercial transactions with other nations, and greatly increasing her commerce. Russia, China, and the South American States, may be more difficult to deal with; but self-interest would eventually cause them to allow their monetary arrangements to blend with a system becoming rapidly universal. But the Chinese, with their immense population, might be brought in, as they already possess a decimal system, which they might be induced to bring into accordance with ours.

I have arrived at my present convictions on this interesting subject, after the careful study of nearly all the works of importance that have been written on the matter; all the infinite details of those works only tending to lead me to the simple and condensed view stated above. I refer to the instructive views of Mr. Rathbone, Mr. Bennoch, Dr. Bowring, Dr. Farr,* of the General Register Office, Mr. Hankey, M.P., Mr. W. Miller, Mr. Jefferson's emphatic statement to the American Congress in 1786, and Professor De Morgan's work.

Of the ingenious arguments lately used, to make the worse appear the better reason, in endeavouring to show that the duodecimal is, after all, more convenient than the decimal, it is not needful to say anything; their plausibility is too easily refuted to make it worth the trouble of argument.

A decimal equalization of weights and measures would necessarily follow such an adjustment of an universal currency; and the bringing about of both these desirable reforms, against all prejudiced opposition, is a task well worthy the talents and courage of the present Chancellor of the Exchequer. Without it the great treaty with France is but half complete; equalization, at all events, of the currencies of the two countries, and of the weights and measures, *must* follow as soon after as possible.

* Dr. Farr has already applied the decimal system of notation in calculations of life assurance relating to money.



CHAPTER XIII.

THE ROYAL MINT.

BEFORE attempting a brief description of the process of coining as at present pursued in the Royal Mint, it will not be useless to glance at the mint regulations which appear to have been adopted among the nations who first made use of coined money.

The weight and purity of the earliest coins appear to have been considered sufficiently guaranteed by the impress of the royal signet, if issued in a monarchy, or by the seal of the state if in a republic. Forgeries, however, commenced at a very early period in the history of money, as we find by clauses in the laws of Solon, referring to the punishment of falsifiers of the national coin. We have also evidence that princes themselves early learned

to issue false coin, as the Spartans found to their cost, when, after having received a certain number of gold pieces from Polycrates, it was subsequently discovered that they were merely plated with gold. Some extremely ancient examples of forgeries of that kind, belonging to the very earliest monetary period, have come down to us, forming very curious additions to our numismatic cabinets. To put a check upon the falsification of the coin, either by a prince or by a state, the custom was early adopted among the Greeks, of causing the officer charged with the direction of the coinage to place his name upon the coin as an additional guarantee, by which arrangement a responsible person, open to punishment in case of fraud, was secured. The names of these monetary officials which are found on Greek coins of a certain epoch (often abbreviated), gave rise to many erroneous conjectures among modern numismatists before their true import was understood.

The Romans, towards the close of the republic, adopted a similar system, in which three officers were appointed to superintend the coinage. These officers were known as triumvirs of the mint, whose names appeared on the coinage, with their titles, abbreviated in various ways, the most frequent being perhaps, III. VIR. A.A.A.F.F., for "*Triumvir argento aere flando feriundo*,"—that is to say, superintendents, respectively, of the gold, silver, and copper coinages.

In the Grecian world, where almost every city of moderately large population formed the nucleus of an independent state, each city had its separate mint; and even after these independent cities became absorbed in neighbouring monarchies or more powerful states, they still, in most cases, preserved the right of coining their own money. At the same time it would appear that, in monarchies—that of Macedonia, for instance—the sovereign not only issued a coinage, which was most probably made current by law in cities which nevertheless coined their own money, but also established mints for striking regal money within the precincts of those cities. The money so struck, as may be illustrated by the coinages of Alexander the Great, bore the royal types or devices, but with the addition, in miniature, of the types of the city where they were struck. On the gold staters struck by Alexander at Ephesus, for instance, the head of Athena, the usual type of his gold coin, appears, accompanied by a minute representation of the ancient Ephesian type, a "bee." It may be mentioned in this place, that on coins when, by the agreement of two allied cities or states, it was determined that the coin of one or both should circulate in both, the coin intended for such circulation was stamped either with the type in small, or a monogram, of the state or city in which the extended circulation was to take place.

The wealthy Grecian cities, even after the subjugation of all the Grecian provinces to Rome, were allowed to retain the right of coining their own money; and the Greek coinages issued under the Roman empire forms a very interesting series, distinguished by collectors as "imperial Greek." After the time of Galerius, however, these privileges appear to have been abandoned, or to have been withdrawn, and the Roman mints thenceforward supplied the circulating medium to all the provinces of the vast empire.

In the reign of Aurelian, the number of workmen employed in the imperial mint of Rome appears to have amounted to several thousands, as we learn that, during a mutiny of these workmen, the origin of which is not accurately known (but it is supposed that they had been detected in certain frauds, to escape the punishment of which they rose in open insurrection), in an engagement with the force brought against them, seven thousand soldiers perished during the contest, which took place on the Caelian hill.

At a later period the central imperial mint appears to have been found insufficient to supply some of the remote provinces; or the transmission of a great bulk of coin being found unadvisable, when roads were few and the general means of transit insufficient, it was found advisable to establish local mints in such regions; such, for instance, as the north of the Germanic provinces, the north-western portion of Gaul, and probably Britain.

At the fall of the empire, the Franes, Goths, Saxons, &c., who seized upon the Roman provinces, established their native mints in the localities of the Roman ones, where they began to coin money of their own national denominations and values, and bearing their own national types. In addition to these ancient Roman mints, others were established, and separate and distinct privileges of mintage were assumed by partially independent chieftains. To these, in due time, were added independent mints, established by dignitaries of the Church. Thus far a kind of decadence and confusion had been gradually assuming the place of order and unity of purpose; but the abuses which soon arose were probably the main cause of the re-adoption of some of those securities against fraud which had marked earlier epochs of mintage. The chief of them was the appearance, on the coin, of the name of the moneyer, or person in immediate charge of the stamping of the money—a custom which was continued till the consolidation of the modern monarchies rendered such a precaution no longer necessary.

In England this course had taken place on the collapse of the Roman power, and numerous Saxon mints were established in various parts of the island. On the coins of the prelates the name of the sovereign prince did not appear, that of the bishop and his moneyer occupying either side of the coin. This state of things was followed by a transition period, in which there are examples of the names of both the king and bishop appearing on episcopal coins, denoting a joint jurisdiction in the mint between the prince and the bishop. Examples of this transition period may be found in the coinage of Canterbury of the period alluded to, in which the name of a king of Kent appears conjointly with that of the archbishop. It should be stated here *en passant*, that when the names of the moneyers were discontinued, mint-marks were adopted, as previously described. An additional security, called technically “pyxing,” was also adopted at an early period, the date of which is unknown, and is still in use. Pyxing consisted in taking from every journey-weight of gold and silver—that is, the weight of each coined in a day (from the French *journée*), a pound, in tale, promiscuously, which is accurately weighed, and the plus or minus declared, this determining whether the money has been made with the degree of accuracy of weight, or remedy, as

it is called, which is allowed by the laws of the mint. From the same pound two pieces are then taken, the one for the master of the mint, the other to be assayed in order to test the fineness of the whole coin, the other for subsequent examination at the general trial of the pyx. The coins taken from each journey or bag are sealed up, and put into a chest called the pyx box, and locked up under the separate keys of the master and comptroller, there to remain until the general trial of the pyx. This general trial of the pyx takes place at irregular periods, before a jury selected by the Lord Chancellor, when the verdict delivered by the foreman of the jury to the Chancellor relieves the master of the mint from all responsibility as regards the coinages thus tested.

Athelstan was the first English monarch who took effectual measures for restoring a unity of character to the coinage; and we find him not only limiting the number of mints, as referred to in describing the coinages of his reign, but at the same time enacting that unity of type should be observed in all the mints, and that the name or portrait of the prince alone should appear, accompanied on the reverse by that of the moneyer, and also the name of the place of mintage; it being enacted also that no money should be struck except within a town, under severe penalties, loss of limb, &c., as in the earlier Saxon periods.

It was also determined that, for the future, all the dies for the local mints should be issued from the central mint in the Tower. For the use of these dies the provincial moneyers paid a rent, and also a fee on the renewal. The rent and fees of the London mint for the use of dies amounted, according to the *Doomsday Book*, to £75, but for what precise period or number of dies is not specified.

The accession of the Norman line did not lead immediately to any great innovations in the existing regulations of the mint; but a few remarks on the general effects resulting from the more immediate jurisdiction of the sovereign over the issue of the public money will be necessary in this place.

At the period when Alfred in England, and Charlemagne in France, had succeeded in consolidating the governing power of the state in the person of a single ruler, the pound, as a monetary term, meant actually a pound-weight of silver. This pound, or libra, was divided into twenty silver solidi, and each solidus into twenty denarii. These were the French livre, sol, and denier, the names of which we still preserve in our denomination of pounds, shillings, and pence, by £ s. d. The rapid manner in which subsequent French princes reduced the livre (which was issued by them as of full weight), appears almost incredible. It was, however, effected in pretty regular gradations till the close of the eighteenth century (1789). Above 78 livres of the money of that day would have been required to represent the true livre, or pound-weight of silver, of the reign of Charlemagne. In order to check this systematic plunder by their princes, the people consented—more especially in the Duchy of Normandy—to the imposition of a tax called *monetagium*, in return for which the sovereign agreed not to debase or lighten the coin. This tax

was imported to England along with our Norman princes, and continued in force till the time of Henry I.

In England the standard became less debased in its weight than in any other country; yet we may estimate its great eventual reduction by the fact that, while the pound of silver represented originally 20 shillings (which corresponded to the 20 sols of the Carlovingian solidus), yet in the reign of Elizabeth the pound of silver was coined into 62 shillings.

In addition to the monetagium just alluded to, the prince had also his seignorage—that is, his more or less legitimate profit on the manufacture of the coin. The first mention of seignorage in the records of the English coinage occurs in an episcopal mint account of Henry III.; £3,898 0s. 4d. producing £97 9s., or about 6d. per pound. Of this profit the king had £60 18s. 3½d., and the bishop the residue. This system of seignorage was continued at varying rates till the reign of Charles II., when it was abolished.

With regard to the constitution of the mints, their officers, &c., little is known previous to the reign of Edward II. In the Saxon laws, and in the *Doomsday Book*, no officer of the mint is referred to, except the moneyer, who was probably the only responsible official. This appears the more probable as in the reign of Henry I., when a debasement of the coinage took place to an alarming extent, only the moneyers were punished. In Richard I. a superior officer, chief of all the mints, appears to have been appointed. We find, also, Richard of Cornhill made to account for the profits on the *cambium*, or exchange, of all England; and the first warden of the mint appears to have been an officer nominated to perform similar duties as to the collection of the profits on the seignorage. An assay master is first mentioned in the sixth year of the reign of Henry III.; but an officer with similar duties had doubtless been attached to all the local mints, if not a general superintendent, at a much earlier period. In the energetic reign of Edward I., when one of the largest coinages in our annals took place, many reforms were doubtless introduced to facilitate the progress of the great work. It is not, however, till the reign of his son that we have any record of these organizations. The chief officers of the Royal Mint, in the Tower of London, who then carried on its management, were, the master, the warden, the comptroller, a king's and master's assay master, a king's clerk, &c.; and most of these offices remained, with little modification, up to the year 1817, when the great re-coinage of George III. took place.

The duties of the comptroller were originally defined as consisting in the making of a roll called a comptrol, or rather, *compte roll*, as being a roll of parchment on which all the accounts connected with the receipt of all the gold and silver minted in the Tower were inserted, in order to its production before one of the Barons of Exchequer.

The king's clerk kept the account of all the daily transactions.

The king's exchanger purchased bullion for the mint, and exchanged foreign for native coins. Richard of Cornhill was (as before stated) the first officer appointed, in the reign of Richard I., to superintend the exchanges of all England. The last officer appointed to the modified office of "keeper of

the exchanges between England and Ireland," was Henry Lord Holland, in the reign of Charles I.

The cuneator appears to have been established as an hereditary office. As chief engraver he appointed all assistant engravers, who were taken by him before the barons of the Exchequer to be sworn into their office.

The warden took account of all the bullion entrusted to the master and workers. The warden also superintended all repairs and alterations, and paid wages, &c.; and it appears to have been part of his duty, in certain circumstances, to conduct the mint officers and workmen with their tools, from place to place, to coin money in provincial mints.

In early times, the amount reserved over the actual expenses of coinage for the sovereign, was entirely at his good will and pleasure. The £97 10s. received from the Canterbury mint, before referred to, was described as *exetus lucri*, probably meaning clear profit. In the reign of Edward I. some regularity appears to have been introduced regarding the royal share of profit, as the total seignorage then taken appears to have been regularly assessed at the rate of 1s. $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ in the pound of silver, out of which the master took $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ for all expenses, leaving $9d.$ for the king.

The charges of the moneyers were assessed at certain fixed rates; but in the reign of Edward III., in consequence of alleged increase in the labour and difficulty of the coinage, an increase of these rates was demanded. The case was referred to John de Wyndesore, warden of the mints of London and Canterbury, Roger Rekeman, Stephen Boke, and others experienced in such matters. They came to the conclusion that, in consequence of the trouble of whitening the sixpences, to hide the increased amount of alloy which had been introduced, the rates ought to be raised. In virtue of this decision, the rates, which had been previously $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound of silver halfpennies, should be raised to $10\frac{1}{2}d.$, and the previous $9\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound of farthings should be raised to $12\frac{1}{2}d.$, so that the master should have an increase of $2d.$ per pound of silver, and the workmen $1d.$

No further alterations are recorded in rates of payment and general management, even through all the base coinages of Henry VIII., and the still baser of Edward VI. In the reign of Elizabeth some alterations must have been made, when it was attempted to introduce the new continental method of the mill and screw instead of the ancient method of hammering, which had till then remained unaltered. But no record has been preserved concerning the nature of those modifications, which were not permanent, as the mill and screw principle was abandoned in consequence of its greater expense, which must clearly have been the result of bad management. The chief alteration in the national mintage in this reign, was the gradual abandonment of the provincial mints, which were, however, subsequently revived for short periods on special occasions.

The old hammering process was carried on in the most primitive manner. The pieces of metal intended to receive the impress of the punch and die were cut out in square pieces, from a sheet of requisite thickness to yield the proper weight for a given coin. These pieces were then, by a laborious pro-

cess, hammered at the edges till a more or less round form was obtained. They were then hammered flat, and then, most probably, softened by being submitted to a certain heat, and, if very base, whitened by artificial means. They were then passed on to the actual coiner, who was seated in front of a block of wood, fixed firmly in the earth, to which a die, engraved with the device of one side of the coin, was attached. Upon this die he placed the piece of silver as truly on the centre as he could guess, and then, placing carefully upon it a punch, engraved with the device of the other side of the coin, he hammered away till the silver had received the impresses of both die and punch. This was necessarily a slow process, and several men could produce but a small number of coins per day.

The mill and screw process, even in its first and rudest form, must have been a great improvement upon the primitive method, which had remained unchanged for so many centuries; and which was that of the Greeks and Romans, that pursued in the dark ages, and in the mediæval periods, up to the middle of the sixteenth century. There is in the collection of old dies in the Royal Mint a specimen of an iron punch of the reign of Edward IV., upon which is the device of a groat of that reign, and it is as rude as one can conceive the punch of the first Ionian moneyer to have been, nearly three thousand years ago. It appears somewhat singular, that a number of the ancient dies and punches of former coinages should not have been preserved in this country, considering that the corporation of moneyers remained undisturbed in the Tower from Saxon times to the present day. Their destruction is, however, fully accounted for by the privileges of the successive cuneators, who claimed the "old irons" as part of their official fee.

The mill and screw was first invented in France by Antoine Brucher, in 1553, who exhibited its advantages to the French court in the palace of King Henry II. The specimens so produced appearing more circular, and more generally perfect, than any modern money up to that era, the process was adopted in the Parisian mint. But so strong are ancient prejudices that the system was abandoned in the reign of Henry III., about 1585, and the old hammering process resorted to again. Upon its introduction in England it shared a similar fate. The chief features of the process were,—*First*, a mill moved by horse-power for rolling the metal and reducing it to a more uniformly even surface than could be obtained by the former rude method; *Secondly*, the adoption of presses fitted with a screw-power for cutting out circular pieces, and also for striking them with the impresses of the dies at one blow. Hence the name of the mill and screw process. The French coins of Henry II. and those of Elizabeth, produced by the "mill and screw," bear ample evidence to the superiority of the process.

At a somewhat later period another Frenchman, Briot, a skilful engraver and die sinker, endeavoured to revive the new process in France, but quarrelling with the government of the day, he came over to England in 1628, and was patronized by Charles I., under whose auspices he established the mill and screw process, by means of which all the regular coinage of

that disturbed reign was afterwards produced. The improved system was also used during the Commonwealth.

On the restoration, however, the reaction in favour of things of the past was so strong, that even the coinage was once more produced by the primitive process of hammering. This reign was, however, not destined to be marked throughout all its course by such blind retrogression; and subsequently, not only was the "mill and screw" finally adopted, upon improved principles, but a still greater advance in the system of mintage took place, consisting in the final abandonment of seignorage, bullion being coined at the expense of the state; it being enacted that any merchant might have silver coined for him at the Tower, receiving back its full value in current money.

The old constitution of the national mint remained nearly unchanged up to the year 1798, when, in the reign of George III., considerable modifications in its whole constitution took place. These were rendered necessary by the experience gained by the government during the then recent execution of the copper coinage by Messrs. Boulton and Watt at Soho, near Birmingham, when, by the application of steam-power to the processes of coinage, an immense economy was obtained, leaving far behind the methods in use in the Royal Mint. It would have been found, however, impracticable to introduce these improvements into that establishment in the existing state of its constitution. The moneyers and other officers being a privileged body, and having vested rights in customs, profits, fees, &c., which would have been interfered with by such a sweeping improvement as the steam process of Messrs. Boulton and Watt.

On the 7th of February, therefore, in the year 1798, an order in council directed an investigation, which led to the determination to erect a separate building for the business of the mint, fitted up with machinery manufactured by Messrs. Boulton and Watt.

In the next place, on the completion of the new building and its magnificent machinery, in 1815, a modification in the constitution of the mint took place, which proved sufficient for the effective and rapid production of the great silver coinage which immediately followed, restoring the character of the public money to that high standard below which it had so lamentably sunk.

The partial reform, however, proved eventually insufficient. Subsequent improvements in the methods of coinage were resisted by the officials of the mint. Parliamentary inquiries took place in 1837 and 1848, resulting in a determination to do away with the Company of Moneyers, and all their ancient privileges together, and giving to the existing officials such compensation as might be considered just and equitable.

The following are a few of the abuses which, in the new constitution of this national establishment, it was sought to remedy. They are taken chiefly from the report of the commissioners in 1848:—

That report states that they had "obtained from the various depositories of the public records, including the British Museum, information of great

interest and importance concerning the constitution, management, and expenses of the mint in past times;" that they had also obtained from Mr. Morrison, deputy-master, Mr. Barton, comptroller, and other officers of the mint, valuable information as to modes then in use for regulating the various departments.

It was remarked that the most peculiar feature in the existing management was the *position* of the "melter," and that of the "Company of Moneyers." It was not that of officers acting wholly in the interest of the Crown, neither, though acting in their own interest, were they ordinary mercantile contractors, but occupying an intermediate position, being *officially* trusted with various operations, and *commercially* paid for executing them.

The melters' appointment might be closed by a three months' notice from the master; but the moneyers were a body continued by self-election—and though acting under an agreement, voidable at three months' notice, they considered this as determining only the rate of payment of their work, and not as affecting their sole right of executing it.

These pretensions rendered a single controlling authority almost impossible; and great abuses had taken place in the departments managed by the "*soidisant* corporation of moneyers." The master's share of profits had been already commuted for a fixed salary, and his right of interference lessened. The melter depended for his emolument upon private agreement with the master, and had leave to carry on a private business as a refiner;—"very objectionable," says the report.

Coin produced by the moneyers (the provost, four other members, and two apprentices) might be rejected, if not well manufactured; but there was no other control. Their gains depended on a private written agreement with the master; and if the value of the annual coinage should fall short £500,000, each member of the Company was entitled to an allowance of £40: "That they may not be too far exposed to temptation by their necessities," as the Treasury order says which directs it, and which is dated 1743.

The Company pretended to have certain freehold rights, and evaded giving any account of the profits derived from them. An apprentice paid £1,000 to be admitted as such; but since the commencement of the present century he was obliged to be approved of by the master.

The chief engraver, though with a fixed salary, had right of private practice. The master, though responsible for the weight, purity, &c., of the metal by the trial of the pyx, had yet no real control over the producers. The moneyers still went on receiving the rates of 1770, though the cost of manufacture was so much reduced. Their joint profits, on two contracts in a single year, 1843, appear to have exceeded £30,000.

The comptroller had no real power of control, and abuses were only to be remedied by an entire reconstruction of the system, on principles adapted to present circumstances.

The profits of the melter, from 1828 to 1847, are calculated at £49,650 7s. 11d. The moneyers, from 1816 to 1847 inclusive, appear to have made £340,750 6s. 7d. clear profits—being, in the earlier part of that period, £10,648 per annum, and in the last six years, £17,531 per annum; while

the salaries of efficient officers to superintend, and the fair wages of good workers, would amount to less than one-third for the same work.

The following were therefore the new arrangements proposed:—

A master responsible for the conduct of the mint business in all its branches; execution by contract to cease altogether; and all officials to be subject to the master.

All to be remunerated by fixed wages or salaries, and none to engage in employment on their own account. The appointments to be made by the Treasury.

Dwelling-houses to be provided in the mint for those whose permanent presence may be deemed necessary.

The trial of the pyx to be retained, and to take place at least once a-year.

The solicitor's appointments appear also to have been abused, and new and better regulations were adopted. The law expenses had gradually increased from £1,325 14s. 8*d.* in 1786, to £8,077 19s. 4*d.* in 1847.

No extra expenses were to be allowed in future to the mint solicitor. No payment to officers of the mint for evidence; and the practice of paying counsel not attending trial to be discontinued. These regulations were rendered necessary by extraordinary abuses connected with legal proceedings for forgeries and other offences connected with the mint, the expenses of which had reached to fabulous amounts; while prosecutions had been evidently got up for the mere purpose of creating legal expenses.

The monetary weights and measures, hitherto kept in the office of the Exchequer, might well have been transferred to the mint, but it was thought best, as the trial of the pyx took place at the Exchequer, that the test weights should be there also. The same with the assaying of plate at Goldsmith's Hall; and, as the fees charged were less than those named by act of parliament, they were to continue as before.

On the promulgation of the new arrangement, and the final dismissal of the ancient officials, with pensions, or the offer of office under the new system, it is said that the ancient Company of Moneyers, to mark the destruction of their lucrative privileges, collected all their books of accounts, in which the particulars of their contracts for an extended period were recorded, and thrusting them into one of the annealing furnaces, watched their total destruction, announcing its completion with a deep "amen!" It is probable, though I am unacquainted with the precise nature of the books thus consumed, that many highly curious records were then destroyed.

According to existing arrangements the government pays the whole expense of our standard gold coinage out of the public treasury. Consequently gold bullion is coined at the rate of £3 17s. 10½*d.* to the ounce of gold, which is only 1½*d.* per ounce above the bank price.

With regard to silver and copper, however, the case is different; as a seignorage is derived from them which is the prerogative of the Crown. Silver is coined at the rate of 5s. 6*d.* per ounce, which is a seignorage of 10 per cent., when the market price of silver is 5s. per ounce. The coinage of

copper yields a still greater profit, being above 100 per cent. upon the average price of copper. The silver and copper coins must therefore be considered more or less in the light of tokens, and they are by law only a legal tender up to a certain amount. This profit is, however, greatly reduced by re-coinages, as the government is bound, through the medium of the Bank of England, to recoin silver as it becomes light or damaged by wear, returning the full number of pieces without charge.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF COINING now in use in the Royal Mint, remains to be described. When bullion in the ingot is received by the mint, the first processes through which it passes, are those by means of which its purity are tested, the technicalities of which would be tedious to detail.

It is then melted down into bars of the shape required for rolling into strips of the requisite size for special coins; the gold bars intended for sovereigns being of a different size to those intended for half-sovereigns. The manner in which a pot of the melted metal is fixed upon a kind of rack, along which it is easily moved in a tilted position, so as to fill each mould in succession, is a very admirable though simple piece of machinery; and the ease with which the process is managed by two workmen displays the excellence of the contrivance.

The bars thus obtained are next taken to the rolling mill, to which they are submitted in a cold state. The first passage between the cylinders does not produce a very striking difference in the flattening out of the piece of metal; but after passing several times between cylinders of gradually increasing closeness, the metal becomes spread out into a long band, or narrow sheet, of the precise thickness required for any special coin. This operation is performed with the greatest nicety, but is nevertheless tested by means of an unerring gauge.

A process called dragging is the next in order. This is effected by a beautiful machine invented by the late Sir John Barton. Its purpose is to give still greater accuracy and evenness to the thickness and surface of the strips than could be imparted by the rollers. It may be described as a kind of drag-bench, the bands of metal being forcibly but steadily drawn by steam-power (with a somewhat similar action to that of wire-drawing), between steel dies of requisite character. The use of this machine has effected a great subsequent saving of labour, inasmuch as the extreme equality of thickness and surface thus produced greatly reduce the quantity of imperfect blanks; that is, such circular pieces of metal pierced out of the strip or band, which are deemed unfit for stamping.

The bands thus equalized are passed to a testing press to ascertain their perfect accuracy before they are given up to be cut into the blanks.

The cutting-out presses, by means of which the blanks are produced, are arranged in a circle, and being worked by steam, the punches are in continual action, so that a man or boy placed at each press, passes the metal under the punch at each descent, and a blank is cut out each time with unerring accuracy, and with an ease and regularity that appears to an uninstructed spectator perfectly marvellous, though, the machine being one

of those invented by Messrs. Boulton and Watt, at Soho, it is now considered behind the day in mechanical excellence.

These blanks are then tested as to their weight, &c.: the gold, individually, by weighing and ringing, the silver by the average weight of a certain number of pieces; and the method by which this weighing, &c., is now effected have received great recent improvements from the present managers of these departments.

The next operation is that of milling,—that is to say, the process by which the edges of the blanks are thickened, and so raised above the general surface, with a view to protect the impress about to be placed upon it, and also to render any attempt at filing the edges at once perceptible. This thickening of the edge is produced by forcing the blanks along a steel bed with a rotary motion, the sides of the bed becoming gradually narrower, and forcing up the edges of the blanks with beautiful regularity. By this process inscriptions can at the same time be placed on the edges of medals by means of steel types fixed at the confining side of the bed, and I believe the names of the receivers of the Crimean medals were impressed in this manner on their respective medals. This machine, by an ingenious contrivance, is made to feed itself with blanks, which afterwards fall into a receiver beneath as fast as they are completed.

By the various operations described, the blanks are found to have acquired so great a degree of hardness, that they would be unfit to receive a good impression of the dies in the stamping press. They are therefore “annealed,”—that is to say, they are placed in a furnace till they have acquired a dull red heat. They are then placed over a fire in suitable vessels, filled with a weak solution of sulphuric acid. The action of the hot acid not only removes all grease and stains from the metal, but gives to the gold its brightest native yellow, and to the silver that opaque white appearance which adds so much to the beauty of the impress, as we see it on a silver coin newly issued from the mint, when it is in that state which French numismatists call “*a fleur de coigne*,”—a term which we might translate as “the bloom of the die.” The blanks in this state are first rinsed in pure cold water, and then riddled in saw-dust, over a slow fire till perfectly freed from any acid moisture. They are then fit for the stamping-press.

Before proceeding to the process of stamping, it may be well to describe the manner in which the dies themselves are made.

A sunk engraving of the device required is first made upon a piece of soft cast-steel. When the work is quite perfect, as tested by a wax impression, and the die deemed fit to transfer its device to the coin of the realm, it is hardened by heating, and while hot, plunging it into cold water. This is a delicate process, and the die is sometimes destroyed by imperfections in the metal, or unskilful management of the process. When successfully hardened, the die, in which the device is engraved in concave, is placed in a powerful handpress. Immediately above the die, a conical piece of soft cast-steel is placed. When its position is deemed accurate, the

press, which works with long-weighted arms, is briskly turned, and the blank piece of steel is forced down upon the die. At the first stroke the conical end of the soft steel is considerably flattened, and has already received a faint impress of the device of the hard die. Another stroke of the press carries the impression towards completion, and the third or fourth perfects it, if of about the size of a shilling. I saw a perfect impression from the die of a fourpenny piece obtained at the first stroke. The impressions thus obtained are, of course, in relief, like that of an actual shilling, their office being to make other sunk dies with which to stamp coins with devices in relief. Thus, when a die, or rather punch, in relief, has been thus obtained, it is hardened by the process just described, and a piece of soft steel, in the form of a die, is placed beneath it in the press. The punch with the raised device is forced down by the press upon the soft steel of the intended die, and in two or three strokes, or in one for the smaller pieces, a perfect impression of the raised punch is produced in the soft steel, in concave. The soft piece of steel with this sunk impression is then hardened, and becomes a perfect die, fit to stamp a vast number of coins; but the hardened punch is capable of making many more dies of the same description, so that, from one original die, an unlimited number can be produced by merely mechanical means, without again taxing the labour of the engraver. This facility, too, renders it unnecessary to use any dies in the stamping-room for a single coin, after their first sharpness and beauty begin to be impaired by use. They are replaced at once by others, now that dies are so easily multiplied at a trifling cost.

The stamping machines are those originally set up by Messrs. Boulton and Watt, and they have ever since done their work so efficiently that little or no alteration has been found necessary. The machine is made to admit the blanks in regular succession from a reservoir, and place them upon the lower die to receive the stroke of the upper one. There is a steel collar fixed round the engraving of the lower die, rather larger than the blank. The force of the blow of the upper die expands the blank, or piece of silver, tightly into the collar, from which its edge receives the impression of the notching, or of any other kind of pattern that may be engraved upon the collar. This method of imparting an impression to the edge of a coin was known as early, at all events, as the time of Simon, and was the means by which his celebrated petition was placed on the edge of the crown piece presented to Charles II. Steam-power produces, however, hundreds of coins in less time than the hand-press of Simon produced one; for there are eight large presses in the great stamping-room of the Royal Mint, working without cessation; mechanically placing the blanks on the dies and removing the perfect coins, which are produced at one blow, into a receptacle below. By means such as these, which the power of steam has alone rendered available, thirty-two men and twelve boys perform all the processes of our national mint, which furnishes coins, at home and in our colonies, to a larger population than did the Roman mint of Aurelian, in which the numbers of workmen and other officials employed were counted by thousands.

As a final test, the perfected coins are taken to the weighing-room, where, in an exquisitely constructed machine, their weight is tested; and such is the nicety of the methods employed, that the difference allowed from the exact standard of weight is not one-half what it was a very short time since. The consequence is, however, that a greater number of coins are cast out as above or below weight than formerly; those above weight being thrown to one side of the machine, and those below to the other. Those below weight are of course put aside as waste, to be melted down and re-coined, and so, till lately, were the over-heavy coins also. But Mr. Pilcher, who superintends this department, has recently invented a simple, but very beautiful machine, by means of which a great number at once of the heavy pieces can be reduced in weight in any given degree, so saving the expense and waste of re-coining. Such innovations, however valuable, it was found impracticable to introduce under the former constitution of the mint; but under the existing arrangements, and with a highly intelligent Master like Mr. Graham, always vigilantly on the watch to effect ameliorations calculated to increase the economy as well as efficiency of the methods in use, a continuous course of improvement has set in.

The efforts of the Master are most ably seconded by his assistant officers in almost every department. I might mention in particular Mr. Ansell, now fulfilling the active functions of chief coiner, and to whom I am indebted for a most instructive explanation of the present means by which our national coinage is produced; and Mr. Pilcher, the superintendent of the weighing and other departments; and also many others, equally active and efficient in their various positions, whose combined efforts render the Royal Mint on Tower Hill the most complete establishment of the kind in Europe.

The ancient and final test of the "trial of the pyx" is still retained, though in the present perfected state of our mintage it is a superfluity; yet, as a remnant of venerable antiquity, it has been deemed well worthy of preservation.

The engraving at the head of this chapter represents the stamping-room at the Royal Mint, with its eight steam-presses at work.

APPENDIX.

OF THE ORIGIN AND GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF NATIONAL COINS.

It will have been seen, in following the series of illustrations contained in this work, that the earliest coins had no inscriptions,—a symbolic type connected with the foundation or early history of the state being their only impress, used as a seal, to denote that the value of the coin was guaranteed by public authority, which the sacred nature of the symbol, always connected with the religious faith of the people, was amply sufficient to authenticate. Eventually it was found that cases might occur of two different states using the same symbol, in which case the initial letters of the name of the state or city were added, as “A. I.,” on the coins of Aigina; AΘE (ATHE) on the coins of Athens, &c. Afterwards, the name of a sovereign, or chief magistrate, was added, the earliest example being the coins of Getas, King of the Edoneans, and Alexander I., King of Macedon: that of Getas is accompanied by the title of “king,” and the name of the people—that of Alexander I. has the simple name. The names are generally in the genitive case, reading, “Of Alexander,” or “Of Philip.”

At the period of the coinage of the Greek sovereigns of Egypt and Sicily, the title of king always appears; frequently accompanied by such titles as “saviour,” &c., in addition to that of king. Their portraits also began gradually to appear, displacing the ancient sacred symbols, and the images of the gods. On the coinage of the Greek sovereigns of Syria, the name was accompanied by the most inflated titles, as, “Great king of kings,” &c.

On the republican coinage of Rome, and other independent Italian cities, the inscriptions were simple, like those of the early Greek coinage, consisting only of the initial letters of a city, &c., but frequently accompanied by numerals, denoting the value of the coins.

On the Roman coinage of the empire the name of the emperor was accompanied by various titles or official dignities. (See page 42.)

After the fall of the Roman empire the inscriptions of the coinage of the barbaric nations of the Middle Ages reverted again to extreme simplicity, as, “Witiges Rex,” the first additions being of a purely religious nature, as on the coins of Charlemagne, on which such inscriptions as, I REIGN BY PERMISSION OF CHRIST, BY THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION, &c., occur. Allusions of the same description, though more brief, occur on the Anglo-Saxon coinage. These inscriptions, however, soon disappeared, and the titles only of the sovereigns were used, till the fourteenth century, when mottoes of a religious character became general, in addition to the titles of the prince. (See coinages of Edward III.)

About the beginning of the sixteenth century mottoes of a more general description were also used, as the ROSA SPINE SINA of the coins of Henry VIII., in allusion to the termination of the wars of the roses, &c.; and about this period, dates were first generally used on the coinages of Europe, though a few earlier examples occur.

In England a great variety of mottoes were used from the reign of Henry VIII. till the end of the reign of Charles I., after which epoch the simple titles of the prince gradually superseded every other kind of legend on the coinage. After the reign of Charles I. the legend was almost invariably accompanied by the date, and frequently the year of the reign.

A LIST

OF SOME OF THE

MOST REMARKABLE MOTTOES AND LEGENDS OF ENGLISH COINS, AND OTHERS
ALLUDED TO IN THIS WORK, WITH THEIR TRANSLATIONS, &c.

A. DEO. PAX. ET. INCREMENTVM.—“From God, peace and prosperity,” on an Anglo-Indian coin of Bombay. (No. 7, Plate 23.)

A. DNO. FACTV. EST. ISTV. Z. EST. MIRA. IN. OCVL. NRIS., variously abbreviated, on the double rial of Mary (No. 1, Plate 7), for “A domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris” (It was made by the Lord, and is wonderful in our eyes).

AGN. DEI. QVI. TOLL. PCA. MVDI. MISE. NOBIS., variously abbreviated, for “Agnus dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis” (Lamb of God, Thou who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us), on the “Mouton d’or” of Henry VI. (No. 11, Plate 5.)

AVSPICIO. REGIS. ET. SENATVS. ANGLIE.—“Under the auspices of the king and parliament of England,” on an Anglo-Indian coin of Bombay.

BEAT. TRANQUILITAS., for “Beata tranquillitas” (Blessed tranquillity), on a coin of Crispus, son of the Roman Emperor Constantine. (No. 20, Plate 17.)

BENEDICTUM. SIT. NOMEN. DOMINI.—“Blessed be the name of the Lord,” on a billon groat of Bordeaux. (No. 6½, Plate 5.)

CAROLVS. A. CAROLO.—“Charles from Charles,” or, if the halfpenny of Charles II. was called a “Carolus,” we may read, “A Carolus from Charles.” (No. 7½, Plate 11.)

CAROLI. FORTUNA. RESURGAM.—“I will restore the prosperity of Charles,” on a siege piece of Charles I. (No. 13, Plate 20.)

CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO.—“I reign under the auspices of Christ,” on coins of Charles I. (Plate 9, and others.)

COLONIARVM. BRITANNIE. MONETA.—“Money of the British colonies,” on a pattern coin for a general colonial coinage in 1823. (Page 170.)

CRESCITE. ET. MVLTIPlicAMINI.—“Increase and be multiplied,” on a coin struck by Cecil, Lord Baltimore, for his settlement in America. (No. 4, Plate 23.)

CVLTORES. SVI. DEVS. PROTEGIT.—“God protects His worshippers,” on coins of Charles I. (No. 2, Plate 9.)

DECVS. ET. TVTAMEN.—“Ornamental and useful,” or, “An ornament and a defence,” on the edge of a silver crown of Charles II., to protect it from filing or clipping. (No. 3 Plate 11.)

DEVS. IVDEX. IYSTVS. FORTIS. PATIENS.—“God the just, powerful, and patient judge,” or, “God is a just, patient, and powerful judge,” on the “chaise” of Edward the Black Prince. (No. 8, Plate 5.)

DILIGITE. IYSTICIAM.—“Love justice,” on the reverse of the “lion” of Mary of Scotland. (No. 7, Plate 8.)

DNE. SALVVM. FAC. POPVLVM. TVVM.—“O Lord, save thy people,” on the “rider” of James III. of Scotland. (No. 4, Plate 3.)

DNS. AVTO. PTECO. ME. PRO. SPAVL. COR. MEVM., for “Dominus adiutor et protector meus, et in ipso speravit cor meum” (The Lord is my strength and my shield, my heart shall trust in him), Psalm xxviii. 8, on the “pavilion” of Edward the Black Prince. (No. 7, Plate 5.)

EXALTABITVR. IN. GLORIA.—“He shall be exalted in glory;” the gold quarter-noble of Edward III. (No. 15, plate 4.)

EX. AVRO. HARCINLE.—“From the gold of the Hartz;” coinage of Hanover, 1815. (Page 169.)

EXTREMVM. SVBSIDIVM.—“The last subsidy,” on a siege piece of Campen. (No. 7, Plate 21.)

EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI.—“Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered,” on the gold twenty-shilling piece of Charles I. (No. 3, Plate 10.)

FACIAM. EOS. IN. GENTEM. VNAM.—“I will make them one people;” reverse of gold unit of James I. (No. 3, Plate 9.)

FLORENT. CONCORDIA. REGNA.—“Kingdoms flourish by concord;” gold unit of Charles I. (No. 1, Plate 10.)

GLIA. IN. EXCELSIS. DEO. ET. IN. TERRA. PAX., for "Gloria in excelsis," &c. (Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace).

HON. SOC. ANG. IND. ORI., for "Honorable Societas Anglicana Indiæ Orientalis" (The Honourable English East India Company), on an Anglo-Indian coin of Bombay. (No. 7, Plate 23.)

HIS. DIFFERT. REGE. TYRANNVS.—"In these the tyrant differs from the king;" in allusion to the types, the scales of justice and a sword; silver mark of James VI. of Scotland. (No. 10, Plate 8.)

HIS. PRAESVM. ET. PROSIM.—"Over these I rule, and these I would benefit" The quaint alliteration of the Latin, was a fashion of the time.

INIMICOS. EJUS. INDUAM. CONFUSIONE.—"His enemies will I clothe with shame," Psalm cxxxii. 19, on a shilling of Edward VI.

IN. VTRVMQVE. PARATVS.—"Prepared for either event"—*Virgil*, lib. 2, b. 61; on a gold piece of twenty-pounds, Scotch, of James VI. (No. 11, Plate 8.)

JAM. NON. SVNT. DVO. SED. VNA. CARO.—"Now, they are not two, but one flesh," on a coin of Mary and Francis of France and Scotland. (No. 14, Plate 19.)

IHS. (for Jesus) AVTEM. TRANSIENS. PER. MEDIVM. ILLORVM. IBAT., variously abbreviated on different specimens ("Jesus passing through the midst of them, went away")—on the gold noble of Edward III. (No. 5, Plate 6.)

JVSTITIA. THRONVM. FIRMAT.—"Justice strengthens the throne;" twopenny piece of Charles I.

MANI. TECHEL. PHARES., for "*mene techel peres*," on a groat of Perkin Warbeck. (No. 16, Plate 5.)

MELIORES TESSERA FATI—"A token of better fortune;" on the gun money of James II. (No. 14, Plate 22.)

NEMO. ME. IMPVNE. LACESSIT.—"No one touches me with impunity;" the "Thistle-Mark" of James VI. of Scotland. (No. 19, Plate 8.)

O CRVX. AVE. SPES. VNICA.—"Hail, oh cross, our only hope!" half Angel of Edward IV.

PARCERE. SVBIECTOS. ET. DEBELLARE. SVPERBOS.—"To spare the obedient, and to subdue the arrogant;" reverse of the twenty-pound piece of James VI. of Scotland. (No. 12, Plate 8.)

PAX. MISSA. PER. ORBEM.—"Peace established throughout the world;" farthings of Queen Anne—a motto taken from the coinage of ancient Rome.

PAX. QVÆRITVR. BELLO.—"Peace is sought by war;" twenty-shilling piece of Oliver Cromwell. (No. 22, Plate 10.)

P. LON., for "Pecunia Londinii" (Money of London), on a coin of the Roman Emperor Constantine. (No. 17, Plate 1.)

PER. CRVCEM. TVA(m) SALVA. NOS. X. (for "Christe") RE. (for "Redemptor")—"By thy cross save us, O Christ, the Redeemer;" on an "angel" of Edward IV. (For obverse, see No. 23, Plate 4.)

POST. MORTEM. PATRIS. PRO. FILIO.—"After the death of the father, for the son," on a siege piece of 1649. (No. 12, Plate 20.)

POSVI. DEVM. ADIVTOREM. MEVM.—"I have made God my helper," groat of Edward III. (No. 11, Plate 4.)

QVÆ. DEVS. CONIVNXIT. NEMO. SEPARET.—"Whom God has united, none may separate;" shilling of James I. (No. 2, Plate 9.)

QVATVOR. MARIA. VINDICO.—"I vindicate the four seas;" farthing of Charles II. (No. 10, Plate 22.)

REDI. CUIQUE. QUOD. SUUM. EST.—"Render to every one that which is his," on the base money of Henry VIII.

RELIG. PROT. LEG. ANG. LIBER. PAR.—"Religio Protestans, Leges Angliæ, Libertas Parliamenti" (The Protestant religion, the laws of England, and the liberty of parliament), all of which Charles I. openly professed to defend, and secretly worked to undermine; the Oxford, twenty-shilling piece of Charles I. (No. 16, Plate 9.)

REPULSIS. PIRATIS. RESTITUTA. COMMERCIA.—"Commerce restored by the destruction of pirates," on the Bahama penny, 1806. (Page 168.)

ROSA. SINE. SPINA.—"The rose without a thorn," a motto assumed on the coins of Henry VIII., in reference to the fortunate termination of the Wars of the Roses; penny of Edward VI. (No. 19, Plate 6.)

RVTILANS. ROSA. SINE. SPINA.—"The shining rose without a thorn;" gold half-crown of Henry VIII. (No. 14½, Plate 6.)

SANS. CHANGER.—"Without changing;" motto of the Earls of Derby, on their coins struck for the Isle of Man. (Page 168.)

SALVVM. FAC. POPVLVM. TVVM. DNE.—(DNE. for "Domine")—"Save thy people, O Lord;" the "rider" of James IV. of Scotland. (No. 4, Plate 8.)

SARMATIA. DEVICTA.—"Sarmatia conquered;" coin of Constantine the Great. (No. 19, Plate 17.)

SCVTVM. FIDEI. PROTEGET. EVM.—“May the shield of faith protect him;” gold coins of Edward VI. (Page 105.)

SIT. NOMEN. DOMINI. BENIDICTVM.—“Blessed be the name of the Lord;” a bawbee of Mary and Francis of Scotland. (No. 13, Plate 19.)

TALI. DICAT. SIGNO. MENS. FLVCTVARE. NEQVIT.—“It is said that devoted to such an emblem, the mind cannot waver;” the emblem alluded to being the cross borne for device upon the banner of St. George; on the “noble” of Henry VIII. (No. 14. Plate 6.)

TE. SOLVM. VEREOR.—“Thee alone I venerate;” “hat-piece” of James VI. (No. 8, Plate 8.)

TIMOR. DOMINI. FONS. VITÆ.—“The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life,” on a shilling of Edward VI. (No. 16, Plate 6.)

TYEATVR. VNITA. DEVS.—“God upholds the united;” gold crown of four-shillings, of James I. (No. 8, Plate 9.)

TYPVS. MONETA. ANGL.(iæ) ÆRIS.—“A sample coin of English copper;” a pattern farthing. (No. 5, Plate 22.)

VERITAS. TEMPORIS. FILIA.—“Truth the daughter of Time;” groat of Mary I. (No. 4, Plate 7.)

VICIT. LEO. DE. TRIBV. IYDAE.—“The Lion of the tribe of Judah has conquered;” testoon of Mary and Francis of Scotland. (No. 17, Plate 8.)

VICTORIÆ. BRITANNICÆ.—“To the British Victory;” coin of Septimus Severus. (No. 13, Plate 1.)

XRC. VINCIT. XRC. REGNAT. XRC. IMPERAT., for “Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat” (Christ conquers, Christ reigns, Christ commands), on an Anglo-Gallic coin of Henry V. (No. 12, Plate 5.)

DESCRIPTION OF THE PLATES.

(The Dates are those of the Accession of each Sovereign.)

PLATE I.

COINS OF THE ANCIENT BRITONS, AND COINS OF THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN.

No.		PAGE
1 and 2, ancient British coins of tin,	- - - - -	40
3 and 5, British coins, imitated from the gold coins of Philip of Macedon,	- - - - -	30
4, a copper coin, also copied from a Greek model,	- - - - -	35
6, a British gold coin, with the name of a British city or chief,	- - - - -	35
7, a British silver coin, with the name, Tasciovan, of a British chieftain,	- - - - -	33
8, a silver coin of Cunobelin, a British prince,	- - - - -	36
9, a British gold coin, formerly attributed to Boadicea,	- - - - -	37
(For other coins of this class, see Plate 17.)		
10, a gold coin of the Roman Emperor Claudius. The triumphal arch refers to the one decreed to him by the Senate on the conquest of Britain,	- - - - -	42
11, a large brass coin of Hadrian. The reverse bears the inscription, ADVENTUS, &c.,	- - - - -	43
12, a large-sized medallion of Commodus,	- - - - -	44
13, a brass coin of Septimus Severus; on the reverse, VICTORIAE. BRITANNICAE.,	- - - - -	44
14, a coin struck in honour of Britannicus, by Cotys, King of the Bosphorus,	- - - - -	43
15, a copper coin of Carausius, the Roman emperor of Britain,	- - - - -	47
16, a copper coin of Allectus, successor of Carausius,	- - - - -	47
17, a copper coin of the Emperor Constantine, struck in London,	- - - - -	47
(For other coins of this class, see Plate 17.)		

PLATE II.

SKEATTÆ, AND COINS OF THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

1, a skeatta, with Christian emblems on the reverse—the dove and the cross,	-	51
2, another skeatta, the devices of which have not been explained,	-	51
3, a skeatta, the types of which are a curiously-designed animal on the obverse; and on the reverse, a figure holding a cross in each hand, frequently seen on late Roman coins,	-	51

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4,	another skeatta; a strangely rude attempt at a head on the obverse,	51
5,	a skeatta, bearing a still further debased copy of the type of No. 4,	51
6,	a skeatta, bearing the Roman type of the wolf and twins,	51
7,	a skeatta, formerly supposed to be of Ethelbert I., King of Kent,	51

SILVER PENNIES OF THE SAXON HEPTARCHY (page 52).

KINGS OF KENT (page 53).

8,	the earliest known Saxon silver penny, formerly supposed to be of Ethelbert II. (A.D. 725),	53
9,	a silver penny, assigned to Eadbert (A.D. 794); reverse, the moneyer's name, IAENBEARHT,	53
10,	a silver penny of Cuthred (A.D. 794), CVDRED. REX. CANT(<i>iae</i>)—"Of Kent,"	53
11,	another silver penny of Cuthred,	53
12,	a silver penny of Baldred, the last King of Kent (A.D. 805),	53

KINGS OF MERCIA (page 54).

13,	a penny of Eadwald (A.D. 716),	54
14,	a penny of Offa (A.D. 757), OFFA. REX.,	54
15,	another penny of Offa,	54
16,	a silver penny of Queen Cynethryth, supposed to have been the wife of Offa,	54

KINGS OF THE EAST ANGLES (page 55).

17,	a skeatta of Beonna (A.D. 750); obverse, in Runic characters, BEONNA. REX.,	55
18,	a silver penny of Eadmund (A.D. 855); obverse, EADMUND REX.,	55
19,	a penny of Ethelstan (A.D. 370); obverse, EDELSTIN; reverse, moneyer's name,	56

KINGS OF NORTHUMBERLAND (page 56).

20,	a styca of Egfrith (A.D. 670),	52 & 56
21,	a styca of Elfwald (A.D. 779). The inscription reads, ALEFVALD, curiously disposed,	52 & 57
22,	fragment of silver penny of Regnald (A.D. 912); REX, replaced by the Saxon CVNVNC,	58
23,	a penny of Anlaf (A.D. 941), ANLAF CVNVNC II.,	58

COINS OF SAINTS (page 58).

24,	a silver penny of St. Peter,	58
25,	a penny of St. Edmund, which reads SCI. EDMVN. R.X.,	59

COINS OF PRELATES (page 59).

26,	a penny of Jaenbert, Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 763),	58
27,	a penny of Ceolnoth (A.D. 830), Archbishop of Canterbury,	52 & 59
28,	the obverse of a styca of Ulphere, Archbishop of York (A.D. 854 to 892),	52

PLATE III.

COINS OF THE SAXON SOLE MONARCHS.

1,	a penny of Egbert (A.D. 800); ECGBEORHT. REX.; reverse, a monogram,	60
2,	a penny of Ethelwolf (A.D. 837); EDELVULF. REX.,	60
3,	a penny of Ethelbald (A.D. 855); AEDELBALD. REX.,	60
4,	a penny of Ethelbert (A.D. 856); EDELBEARHT. REX.,	61
5,	a penny of Ethelred (A.D. 866); EDELFRED. REX. A., for REX ANGLORVM,	61
6,	a penny of Ælfred the Great (A.D. 872); reverse, the monogram of London,	62
7,	another penny of Ælfred; the name spelt ELFRED,	62
8,	a penny of Edward the Elder (A.D. 901); type of reverse, the hand of Providence,	64
9,	another penny of Edward the Elder,	64
10,	a penny of Æthelstan (A.D. 925), AEDELSTAN. REX.; reverse, the moneyer's name,	65
11,	a penny of Eadmund (A.D. 941); EADMVD. REX., the N being omitted by accident,	65
12,	a penny of Eadred (A.D. 953); EADRED. REX.,	65
13,	a penny of Edwy (A.D. 955); EADVIG. REX.,	65
14,	the reverse of another coin of Edwy,	65
15,	a penny of Edgar (A.D. 958); EADGAR. REX.,	66
16,	a penny of Edward the Martyr (A.D. 975); EADPEARD. REX. AGL., for "Angliæ,"	66
17,	a penny of Ethelred II. (A.D. 978); EDELFRED. REX. ANG.(<i>lorum</i>),	66
18,	another penny of Ethelred II.; type of reverse, the hand of Providence,	66
19,	a penny of Cnut (Canute) (A.D. 1016); CNVT. REX. AN. PAX (Peace) in the angles of the cross,	67

No.		PAGE
20,	another penny of Cnut; CNVT. REX. ANGLORVM., - - -	67
21,	a penny of Harold I. (A.D. 1035); obverse, HAROLD. REX., - - -	67
22,	a penny of Hardicanute (A.D. 1040); HARDACNVT. REX., - - -	67
23,	a penny of Edward the Confessor (A.D. 1042); EADPARD. REX. AN(<i>glorum</i>), - - -	68
24,	another penny of Edward the Confessor; EAD. PRD. REX. ANGLO(<i>rum</i>), - - -	67
25,	a penny of Harold II.; reverse, PAX, and the moneyer's name, - - -	68

PLATE IV.

COINS OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN SOVEREIGNS, FROM WILLIAM I. TO RICHARD III.

1,	a penny of William I. (1066); PILLEMHS. REX.—the Saxon P being used for w, -	73
2,	a penny of William II. (1089); PILLELM. REX.; reverse, the moneyer's name, -	73
3,	a penny of Henry I. (1100) HNRI. REX., - - -	74
4,	a penny of Stephen (1135); STIEFNE. REX., - - -	74
5,	a penny of Henry II. (1154); HENRI. REX. ANGLI(<i>e</i>), - - -	76
6,	a penny of Henry III. (1216); HENRICVS. REX. III., - - -	77
7,	the supposed groat of Edward I. (A.D. 1272), - - -	79
8,	a silver penny of Edward I., with similar inscriptions, differently abbreviated, -	79
9,	a farthing of Edward I., - - -	80
10,	a penny of Edward II. (A.D. 1307); on the reverse, CIVITAS LONDON, -	81
11,	a groat of Edward III. (1326), - - -	81
12,	a penny of Edward III., with CIVITAS EBORACI (City of York) on the reverse, -	83
13,	a gold quarter-florin of Edward III.; reverse, EXALTABITVR. IN. GLORIA, -	83
14,	a gold noble of Edward III.; IESVS. AVTEM. TRANSIENS. PER. MEDIVM. ILLORVM. IBAT.—“Jesus, passing through the midst of them, went away,” -	84
15,	a quarter-noble of Edward III., - - -	84
16,	a groat of Richard II., (A.D. 1377), - - -	86
17,	a half-noble of Richard II., - - -	86
18,	a groat of the heavy money of Henry IV. (1400), - - -	86
19,	a quarter-noble of Henry IV., - - -	86
20,	a groat of Henry V.; inscription as on the groat of Henry IV., except the V., -	87 & 88
21,	a half-noble of Henry V. or VI., - - -	87
22,	the obverse of a groat of Edward IV. (1461), with EDWARD. DI. GRA., -	88 & 90
23,	the obverse of a gold angel of Edward IV.; reverse has O. CRVX. AVE. SPES. VNICA., -	89
24,	the obverse of a groat of Richard III., - - -	92

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COINS STRUCK BY ENGLISH PRINCES IN FRANCE, TERMED ANGLO-GALLIC COINS.

1,	a denier of Aquitaine, struck in the reign of Henry II. (1154), - - -	76
2,	a denier of Poictou, struck in the reign of Richard I. (1189), - - -	77
3,	a penny of Aquitaine, struck in the reign of Edward I. (1273), - - -	80
4,	a gold “Guiennois,” struck in Guienne, in the reign of Edward III., - - -	85
4½,	the obverse of a gold “leopard” of Edward III., struck in France, - - -	85
5,	a silver penny of Aquitaine, of the reign of Edward III., - - -	85
6,	a double “hardi” of Edward III., - - -	85
6½,	a pattern for a new issue of the groats of Bordeaux, in <i>billon</i> , - - -	86
7,	a “pavilion” of Edward the Black Prince, so named from the Gothic canopy, -	85
8,	the “chaise” of the Black Prince; legend DEVS. JVDEX. JVSTVS. FORTIS. ET. PATIENS., - - -	85
9 and 10,	a groat of Bordeaux, of the Black Prince; legend GLORIA. IN. EXCELSIS., &c., - - -	85
11 and 12,	the “mouton d’or,” or “gold lamb,” of Henry V., so named from the type, - - -	88
13 and 14,	the “salute,” of Henry VI., named from the type—the salutation of the Virgin, - - -	88
15 and 16,	obverse and reverse of a groat of the pretender, Perkin Warbeck, -	97
17 and 18,	obverse and reverse of a groat of Henry VIII., struck at Tournay, -	98

PLATE VI.

COINS OF HENRY VII. AND VIII., AND EDWARD VI.

1,	a groat of Henry VII., of the first character; the crown as in the previous reigns, -	93 & 96
2,	a groat of Henry VII., of the second character, with the arched crown, -	93 & 96
3,	a penny of the same, - - -	93

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4, a shilling of Henry VII., the first English shilling, - - -	94
5, the gold "sovereign" of Henry VII., the first English coin bearing that name, -	95
6, a half "groat" of Henry VIII., similar in type to the shilling of Henry VII., -	98
7 and 8, a testoon or shilling of Henry VIII., - - -	98
9 and 10, a silver halfpenny of Henry VIII., with REX. D. G. ROSA. SINE. SPINA., -	98
11 and 12, a silver farthing of Henry VIII.; RVTILANS. ROSA., - - -	98
13, the gold sovereign of Henry VIII.; the same inscription as the testoon, -	99
14, a George noble of Henry VIII.; reverse, TALL DICATT. SIG ^o . MES. FLVCTVARI. NEQT., - - -	99
14½, a gold half-crown of Henry VIII.; reverse, RVTILANS. ROSA. SINE. SPINA., -	99
15, a gold crown of Henry VIII.; reverse, RVTILANS. ROSA., &c., - - -	100
16, a shilling of Edward VI. (1547), with the legend TIMOR. DOMINI. FONS. VITE. MOXLIX., - - -	103
17, a silver crown of Edward VI., the first silver crown, - - -	103
18, the obverse of a sixpence of Edward VI., - - -	104
19, a base penny of Edward VI.; legend, ROSA. SINE. SPINA., - - -	104
20, the obverse of a treble-sovereign of Edward VI., - - -	105
21, the obverse of a half-sovereign of Edward VI., - - -	105

PLATE VII.

COINAGE OF MARY, PHILIP AND MARY, AND ELIZABETH.

1, double-rial of Mary (1553); A. DNO. FACTV(m) EST. ISTV. Z. EST. MIRA. IN. OCVT., NRIS., for "A Domino. Factvm. est. istvd. et. est. Mirabile in Oculis. Nostris," - - -	107
2, a single-rial of Mary, with the same legends as the double-rial, - - -	107
3, a half-angel of Philip and Mary; reverse, A. DNO. FACTVM. EST., &c., - - -	107
4, a groat of Mary; reverse, VERITAS. TEMPORIS. FILIAS.—"Truth the daughter of Time," - - -	107
4½, the obverse of a penny of Philip and Mary, - - -	107
5, a shilling of Mary and Philip, with the busts of both facing each other, -	107
6, another shilling of Philip and Mary, with Mary on the obverse and Philip on the reverse of the coin, - - -	106
7, a shilling of Queen Elizabeth, - - -	110
8, a silver threepenny piece of Elizabeth, - - -	110
9, a silver threefarthing piece of Elizabeth, - - -	110
10, a silver halfpenny of Elizabeth, - - -	110
11, a milled shilling of Elizabeth (1575), - - -	110
12, a crown of Elizabeth, - - -	110
13, the obverse of a rial or half-sovereign of Elizabeth, - - -	111
14, a half-sovereign of another mintage; reverse, SCVTVM FIDEI. PROTEGET. EAM.—"The shield of the faithful protects her," - - -	111
15, a gold crown of the same types as the half-sovereign, - - -	111
16, a gold half-crown, ditto, - - -	111
17, a pattern farthing of Elizabeth, in copper, with the monogram of Elizabeth, -	112

PLATE VIII.

SCOTTISH COINAGE BEFORE THE UNION.

1, a gold "St. Andrew" of Robert II., so called from the cross of St. Andrew on the reverse, - - -	114
2, a "lion" of James I.; legend, SALVVM. FAC. POPVLVM. TVVM. DN., for "Domine," -	114
3, a "unicorn" of James III. or IV.; legend, EXVRGAT. DEVS., &c., - - -	115
4, a "rider" of James IV., so termed from the type of the king on horseback, -	115
5, the obverse of a "bonnet-piece" of James V., with the date of 1540, - - -	116
5½, a third of a groat of James V., with IACOBVS. DEI. GRA(tia) E(ex) SCOTOR(um) -	116
6, the obverse of a gold rial of Mary of Scotland, with the queen's bust, - - -	117
7, the reverse of a "lion" of Mary, with MARIA REGINA in a monogram, - - -	117
8, the "hat-piece" of James VI.; reverse, TE. SOLVM. VEREOR., - - -	118
9, the reverse of a gold "lion" of James VI., - - -	118
10, a silver mark of James VI., with the legend, HIS. DIFFERT. REGE. TYRANNVS., -	117
11 and 12, a gold piece of £20, Scotch, of James VI. - - -	118
13, a silver piece of twenty shillings, Scotch, of James VI., - - -	117
14 and 15, a groat of the reign of James V., - - -	116

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16,	the obverse of a silver testoon of Mary, - - - - -	116
17,	a testoon of Mary, struck during her marriage with Francis II. of France, - - -	116
18,	a silver rial of Mary, struck during her marriage with Darnley, - - -	116
19,	the reverse of a double-mark, known as the thistle-mark of James VI., - - -	117

PLATE IX.

COINAGE OF JAMES I. AND CHARLES I.

1,	a half-crown of James I.; reverse, EXVRGAT. DEVS. DISSIPENTVR. INIMICI., -	120
2,	a shilling of James I. The inscription of the obverse is the same as the half-crown, except the substitution of MAG.(<i>na</i>) BRI.(<i>tannia</i>), instead of ANG.(<i>lia</i>) ET SCO.(<i>tia</i>). On the reverse, QUÆ. DEVS. CONIUNXIT. NEMO. SEPARET.—“What God has united, none shall separate”—in allusion to the union of the crowns, -	120
3,	a half-groat of James I., with ROSA. SINE. SPINA.—“The rose without a thorn,” -	120
4,	the obverse of a silver halfpenny, - - - - -	125
5,	a silver halfpenny, - - - - -	120
6,	the obverse of the sceptred unit of twenty shillings of James I., - - -	121
7,	the obverse of a rial of thirty shillings, - - - - -	121
8,	a gold four-shilling piece, - - - - -	121
9,	a gold unit, with FACIAM. EOS. IN. GENTEM. VNAM.—“I will make them one people,” - - - - -	121
10 and 11,	a gold “angel” of James; reverse, A. DOMINO. FACTVM, &c., - - -	121
10½,	a penny of Charles I.; reverse, EXVRGAT, &c. (See Alphabetical List of Legends), - - - - -	125
12,	a half-crown of Charles I.; reverse, CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO., - - -	124
13,	a shilling of Charles I., - - - - -	125
14 and 15,	a halfpenny of Charles I., - - - - -	125
16,	an Oxford twenty-shilling piece, - - - - -	125
17,	an Oxford half-crown, with a view of the city beneath the horse, - - -	125
18,	the reverse of a shilling siege piece of Pontefract Castle. The inscription reads, OBS. P. C. XII. 1648, OBS. for OBSESSA (besieged), and P. C., probably for Pontefract Castle, - - - - -	126
19,	a gold crown or quarter-unit. Reverse, CVLTORES. SVI. DEVS. PROTEGET., - -	128

PLATE X.

COINAGE OF CHARLES I. AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

1,	a gold unit of Charles I.; reverse, FLORENT. CONCORDIA. REGNA., - - -	128
2,	a gold quarter-unit of Charles I., - - - - -	128
3,	the reverse of a gold twenty-shilling piece of the “Exurgat money,” - - -	128
4,	a shilling of the “Exurgat money,” - - - - -	125
5,	the reverse of a sixpence, with the motto, CHRISTO. AVSPICE., &c., - - -	125
6,	the reverse of a half-crown, with the motto, CHRISTO. AVSPICE., &c., - - -	125
6½,	a silver threepenny piece of Charles I.; reverse, CHRISTO. AVSPICE., &c., - -	125
7 and 8,	a silver penny of Charles I., - - - - -	126
9,	a sixpence of the money of necessity of Charles I., with CORK, 1647, on the reverse, - - - - -	126
10,	a three-shilling piece of the Carlisle siege money of Charles I., - - -	126
11,	a ninepenny piece of the siege money of Charles I., struck at Newark, - - -	125
12,	a fourpenny piece of the same coinage as Nos. 7 and 8, - - - - -	126
13,	a sixpence of the same mintage, with VI. on the reverse, - - - - -	126
14,	one of the rude pieces struck at Dublin for the king. - - - - -	126
15,	a half-crown of the Commonwealth, bearing for inscription THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, Latin legends being abandoned during the Commonwealth; reverse, GOD. WITH VS., date 1651, - - - - -	134
17,	the reverse of a gold twenty-shilling piece of the Commonwealth, - - -	135
18 and 19,	patterns of copper farthings of the Commonwealth, - - - - -	135
20,	the reverse of a pattern half-crown of the Commonwealth; GUARDED WITH ANGELES, - - - - -	134
21,	a half-crown of Cromwell (perhaps never issued); OLIVAR. D.(<i>ei</i>) G.(<i>ratia</i>) R.(<i>ei</i>) P.(<i>ublicæ</i>) ANG.(<i>lia</i>) SCO.(<i>tia</i>) ET HIB.(<i>erni</i>) PRO.(<i>tector</i>)—“Oliver, by the grace of God, Protector of the Republic of England, Scotland, and Ireland;” reverse, PAX. QVERITVR. BELLO.—“Peace is sought by war,” - - -	134
22,	the obverse of a twenty-shilling piece of the protector, with the same inscriptions, - - -	135

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COINAGE OF CHARLES II., JAMES II., AND WILLIAM AND MARY.

No.		Page
1,	a sixpence of Charles II. ; reverse, CHRISTO. AVSPICE. REGNO.,	138
2,	a sixpence of the new coinage by mill and screw, -	138
3,	the celebrated petition crown of Simon, -	138
4,	one of the last silver halfpennies coined, -	138
5,	a fourpenny piece of Charles II., -	138
6,	a twopenny piece of Charles II., -	138
7,	a gold forty-shilling piece of Charles II., of 1674, -	142
7½,	the first copper halfpenny; issued in the reign of Charles II., -	146
8,	a half-crown of James II., -	148
9,	a twopenny piece of James II., -	148
10,	the obverse of a five-pound piece of James II., with the elephant mint-mark, -	149
10½,	the obverse of a tin halfpenny of James II., with a copper plug, -	149
11,	a half-crown of William and Mary, -	151
12,	the obverse of a shilling of William and Mary, -	151
12½,	the obverse of a fourpenny piece of William and Mary, -	152
13,	a two-pound piece of William and Mary, -	152
14,	the obverse of a half-crown of William III., coined at Chester, with c. mint-mark, on the reverse, is that of one coined from Welsh silver, with the "feathers" between the shields, -	151
15,	the reverse of a shilling of William III., -	151
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PLATE XII.

COINAGES OF QUEEN ANNE, GEORGE I., GEORGE II., GEORGE III., &c.

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3,	the reverse of a shilling of Anne, coined from the Welsh silver, -	155
3½,	the obverse of a shilling of Anne, of the Edinburgh mint, distinguished by the letter E., -	155
4,	the obverse of a pattern copper farthing of Anne, -	156
5,	a pattern copper halfpenny of Anne, -	156
6,	a crown of George I., -	157
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7½,	a copper halfpenny of 1742, -	160
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8½,	the obverse of a half-crown of George II. with LIMA, -	159
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11,	the obverse of the Northumberland shilling of George III., of 1763, -	164
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13,	the obverse of a shilling of George III., of 1787, -	164
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2,	a Lydian stater of Sardis, possibly issued by Cræsus about B.C. 495, -	16
3,	a gold double-stater of Miletus, in Ionia, probably struck between 700 and 800 B.C.,	17
4,	a Persian daric (about B.C. 530), -	18
5,	a quarter-stater of Phocæa, with a ram's head, and a small phoca or seal, -	18
6,	one of the earliest silver coins, a didrachm of Ægina, -	18
7,	an <i>incused</i> coin of the Grecio-Italian city of Sybaris, -	18
8,	an early coin of Athens; the head of Athena or Minerva, with ΑΘΕ, for "Athena,"	18
9,	a medallion of Syracuse; one of the finest examples of Greek monetary art, -	18
10,	a tetradrachm, or four-drachma piece of Alexander the Great, -	19
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12,	a gold pentadrachm of Ptolemy Sotor, the first Greek sovereign of Egypt, -	19
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THE EARLIEST FORM OF THE ÆS LIBRALIS OF THE LIBRAL COINAGE OF ROME.

A	square quincussis, formerly in the Pembroke collection, weighing four pounds nine ounces eleven pennyweights three grains, sold at the sale of the above-named collection for £22 10s. The weight of the earliest pieces of this kind was one pound, -	20
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PLATE XV.

THE SECOND FORM OF THE LIBRAL COINAGE OF ROME.

1,	the circular æs or as, representing a pound weight of copper, but depreciated to nine ounces and a-half, -	20
2,	a decussis or piece of ten ases of a later period; type, the head of Roma, with the numeral x, -	20

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SPECIMENS OF THE RING-MONEY OF IRELAND.

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9,	a specimen found in the county of Galway, the intrinsic value of which is £60, -	25
10,	a cast specimen in which many rings are joined together, -	25
11,	a specimen of the cast brass ring-money; an entire ring, -	25
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No.	PAGE
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8, a coin, probably of Tasciovan, with VER., for "Verulamium," -	33
9, a coin of Cunobelin, in the Roman style, the obverse having a figure of Apollo; and the reverse, the word SOLIDO., -	37
10, a <i>denarius</i> of the Roman republic, -	48
11, a gold coin of Sulla, dictator of the Roman republic, -	49
12, the reverse of a coin of Hadrian, with BRITANNIA, -	43
13 and 14, the obverse and reverse of a coin of Antoninus Pius, -	44
15, the reverse of a brass coin of Antoninus Pius, -	44
16, a large bronze medallion of Commodus, -	44
17, a "large brass" of Caracalla, -	45
18, a silver coin of Geta, -	45
19, a coin of Constantine the Great, with P. LON., for "Pecunia Londinii," -	47
20, a coin of Crispus; on the obverse, CRISPVS. NOBIL(issimus) C(esar), &c., -	48

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4, a silver penny of Sithric III. (A.D. 989), -	70
5, a silver penny attributed to Anlaf V. (A.D. 1059), -	70
6, a silver penny of Askel (A.D. 1159), -	70
7, 8, 9, and 10, Irish bracteate coins; the type indented upon the reverse, -	71
11, an Irish coin of John, struck while he was <i>Dominus</i> , or Lord of Ireland, -	77
12, an Irish penny of John, struck after his accession to the English throne, -	77
12½, a halfpenny of John, with a lozenge on the obverse, -	77
13, a silver penny of Henry III.; the legend on the obverse is, HERICVS. REX. III., -	78
14, a silver farthing of Edward I.; reverse, CIVITAS. DVBLINIAE., -	80
15, a "Patrick" of Henry IV.—one-eighth of a penny, -	88
16, a groat of Edward IV.; type, the ancient arms of Ireland, three crowns, -	88
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19, a groat of Henry VIII.; the crowned initials H. and A., for Henry and Anne (Anne Boleyn), -	100
20, a Cork farthing, struck during the Commonwealth, -	135
21, a brass coin of Charles I., struck in Ireland, -	128
22, an Irish farthing of Charles I., -	128

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1, a coin of one of the princes of the Hebrides; about the eleventh century, -	113
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3, a silver penny of William the Lion of Scotland, -	113
4, a silver penny of Robert Bruce, with ROBERTVS. DEI. GRATIA, -	114
5, a groat of Robert III.; reverse, VILLA. EDINBURGI—"The town of Edinburgh," -	114
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10, a silver groat of James IV., -	115
11, a half-plack of James V.; reverse, OPPIDVM. EDINBURGI—"City of Edinburgh," -	116
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14, the "non sunt" of Mary and Francis, so called from the inscription, -	117
15, the obverse of a testoon of Mary, -	116
16, a <i>billon</i> penny of Mary, -	116
17, the last <i>billon</i> coin struck by James VI., -	117
18, a Scotch twopenny piece of Charles I., -	128

No.		PAGE
19 and 20,	a "bawbee" of Charles II.; the legend on the reverse is NEMO. ME., &c., -	147
21,	a "boddle" of Charles II.; legends, the same as those of the "bawbee," -	147

PLATE XX.

SIEGE PIECES AND "PIECES OF NECESSITY," OF CHARLES I.

1,	a five-shilling piece, stamped on both sides with V. S., -	126
2,	a shilling; obverse, C. R.; reverse, CARL. (isle) OBS(essa)—"besieged;" date, 1645, -	126
3,	the obverse of a five-shilling piece, probably of Dublin, -	126
4,	a five-shilling piece; a large V. S. on the obverse; reverse, a simple cross, -	126
5,	a Cork shilling; on the obverse, CORK, 1647; on the reverse, XII., -	126
6 and 7,	a Newark shilling; the obverse has c. and r. on each side of the crown, -	126
8,	a piece of silver, stamped with a castle, and beneath it V. S. to denote its value, -	126
9,	a square piece of silver; type, a castle, and I. S. I. D. to denote its value, -	126
10,	a shilling piece, also stamped with a castle, and I. S. to denote its value, -	126
11 and 12,	a shilling piece, struck at Pontefract, after the death of Charles I., -	127
13,	an octagon piece of uncertain value, -	127

PLATE XXI.

FOREIGN SIEGE PIECES.

The coin without a number is the gold penny of Henry III., -	78
1, a gold piece, issued by Charles, Duke of Sudermania, in 1589, -	130
2, a gold piece, issued by Maurice of Saxony during the siege of Leipsic, in 1547, -	130
3, a silver piece, issued during the memorable siege of Vienna by the Turks, in 1529, -	130
4, another piece, issued at the same period, -	131
5, a silver piece, issued by the Bishop of Osnaburgh during the siege of that city, -	131
6, a siege piece of Breda, 1623, -	131
7, a siege piece of Campen, 1578, -	131
8, a siege piece of Magdeburgh; the patron saint, St. Maurice, on both sides, -	132
9, a copper piece, struck by Gustavus of Sweden during the insurrection against Christian, King of Denmark, -	130
10, "Money of Necessity," struck by Marshal Turenne while besieging St. Venant, -	131
11, a gold piece, struck by Antonio Leva during the siege of Pavia, in 1524, -	132
The large piece in the centre was struck at London, in 1702.	

PLATE XXII.

SPECIMENS OF THE COPPER COINAGE, AND OF THE TOWN AND TRADE TOKENS.

1,	pattern penny of Queen Elizabeth; obverse, THE PLEDGE OF, with a bust of the queen, -	144
2,	an old lead token, bearing the date 1599, -	144
3,	a copper farthing of James I., -	145
4,	a farthing token of the Boar's Head Tavern, in Great Eastcheap, -	144
5,	the pattern farthing, executed by Briot for Charles I., -	145
6,	a farthing token of the Mermaid Tavern, in Cheapside, -	144
7,	a Bristol farthing of 1652; on the reverse are the arms of Bristol, -	145
8,	Nottingham halfpenny; NOTTINGHAM HALFPENNY TO BE CHAINGED BY Y ^r CHAMBERLAINS, -	145
9,	a Cirencester farthing, -	145
10,	a pattern farthing of Charles II., -	147
11,	a halfpenny; the trade token of Thomas Dedicot, of Bewdley, -	145
12,	a halfpenny; the trade token of Robert Watmough, carrier, of Halifax, -	145
13, 14, and 15,	specimens of the gun-money of James II. (struck in Ireland), -	149
16,	the reverse of an Irish halfpenny of William and Mary, -	149
17,	the reverse of an Irish halfpenny of Charles II. (See No. 14, Plate 11), -	153
18,	the reverse of an Irish halfpenny of James II., with HIBERNIE, -	150
19,	the reverse of an Irish penny of George III., with HIBERNIA, and the date, 1805, -	167

PLATE XXIII.

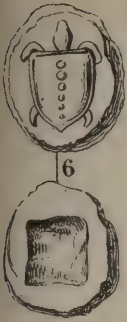
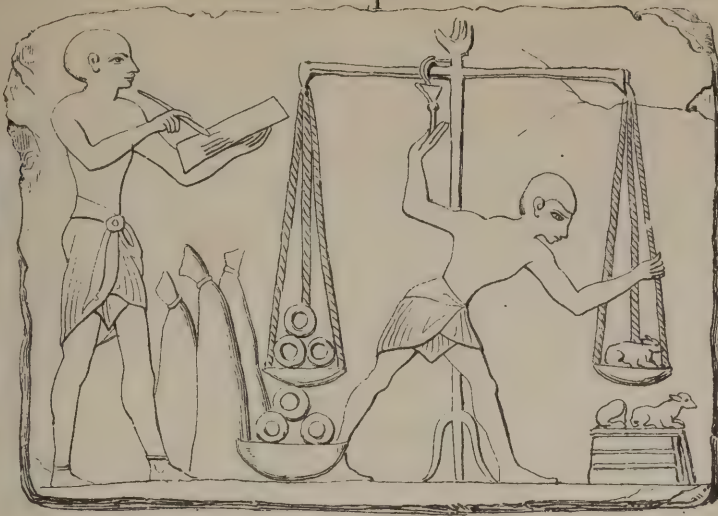
BRITISH COLONIAL COINS.

1,	a shilling of the Sommer Islands, -	148
2,	a sixpence of the Boston mint; N. E., for New England, and VI., to denote the value, -	148

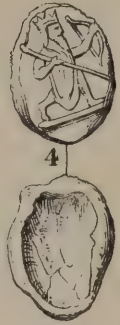
No.		PAGE
3,	copper coin struck for the Ionian Islands, IONIKON. KRATOS.—“Ionian government,”	169
4,	a coin struck by Lord Baltimore, for his American estates,	148
5 and 6	a Massachusetts threepenny piece; the obverse reads MASATHVSETS. AND NEW ENGLAND,	148
7 and 8,	a Bombay rupee of Charles II.,	142
9,	an early English imitation of an Indian coin, called a “pagoda,”	143 & 175
10,	a one-cash piece, date 1806,	175
11,	a rupee of Calcutta, with the Indian characters, in imitation of the native coin,	174
12,	a Pie or Pai, of 1795,	174
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14,	a more modern gold pagoda, with a new device,	175
15 and 16,	a modern rupee of the East Indian Company; obverse, KING WILLIAM IV.,	176
17,	a gold mohur of the East Indian Company, of the reign of William IV.,	176
18,	a copper piece of one “cash,” of 1734,	149
19,	the obverse of a single “pie or pai,”	174
20,	the obverse of a piece of five “fanams,” struck at Madras in 1808,	175
21,	a twenty “cash” piece of the Calcutta mint,	175
22,	the obverse of a bronze cent. for Canada, issued in 1858,	178
23,	the reverse of the Canadian cent.,	178
24,	a twenty-cent. piece of silver for Canada (1858); the obverse having the same head as the copper cent., but without the inner border of beading,	177
25,	the new bronze penny intended for issue in 1860,	172
26,	the reverse of the new bronze penny,	172

ERRATA.

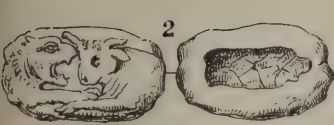
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 „ 113, line 2 from bottom, *for* No. 2, *read* No. 3.
 „ 125, line 13, *for* Plate 9, *read* Plate 10.
 „ „ line 17, *for* Plate 10, *read* Plate 9.
 „ 156, line 29, *for* No. 12, Plate 5, *read* No. 5, Plate 12.
 „ 173, line 25, *for* No. 17, *read* No. 16.
 „ 176, line 17, *for* Plate 20, *read* Plate 23.
 „ 178, line 9, *for* No. 17, *read* No. 16.
 „ 182, line 41, *for* forms, *read* form.



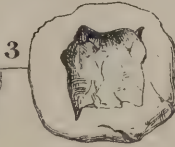
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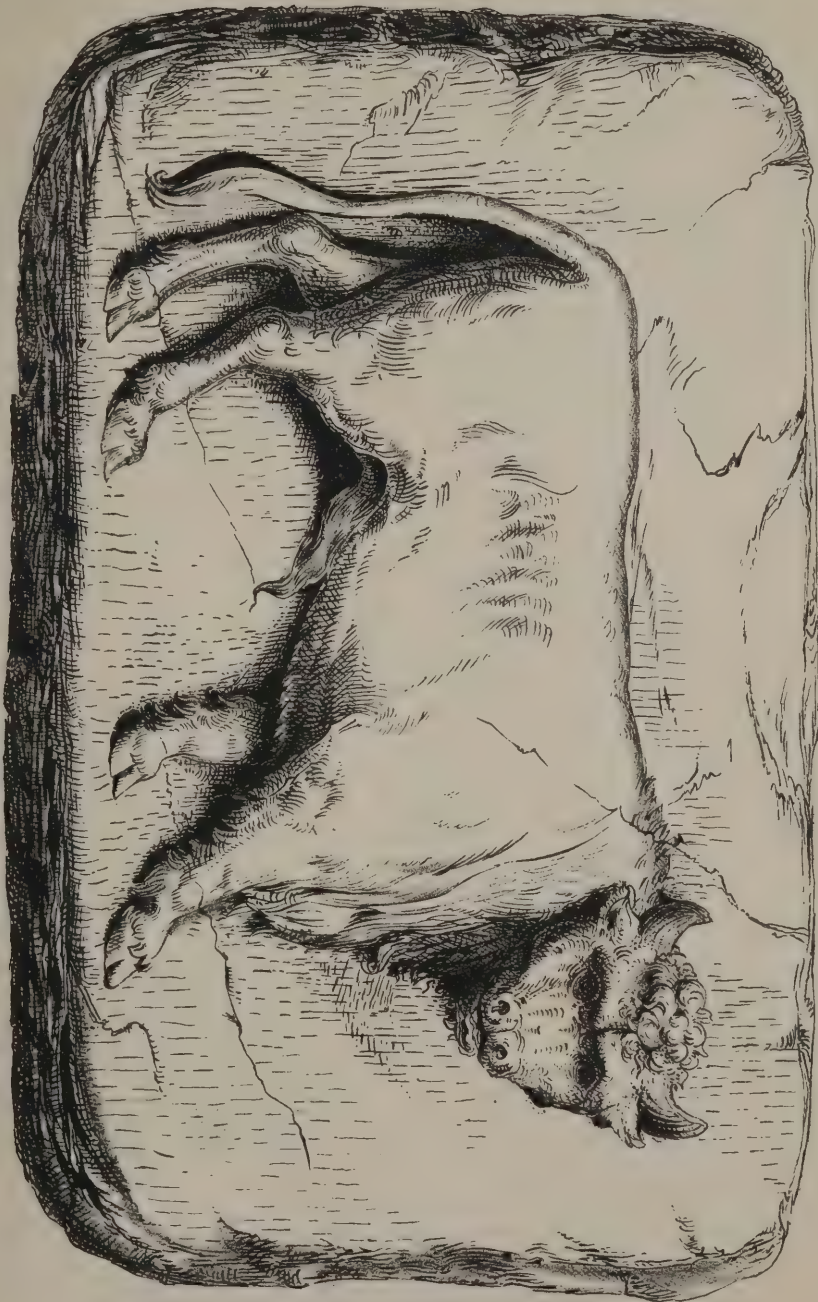


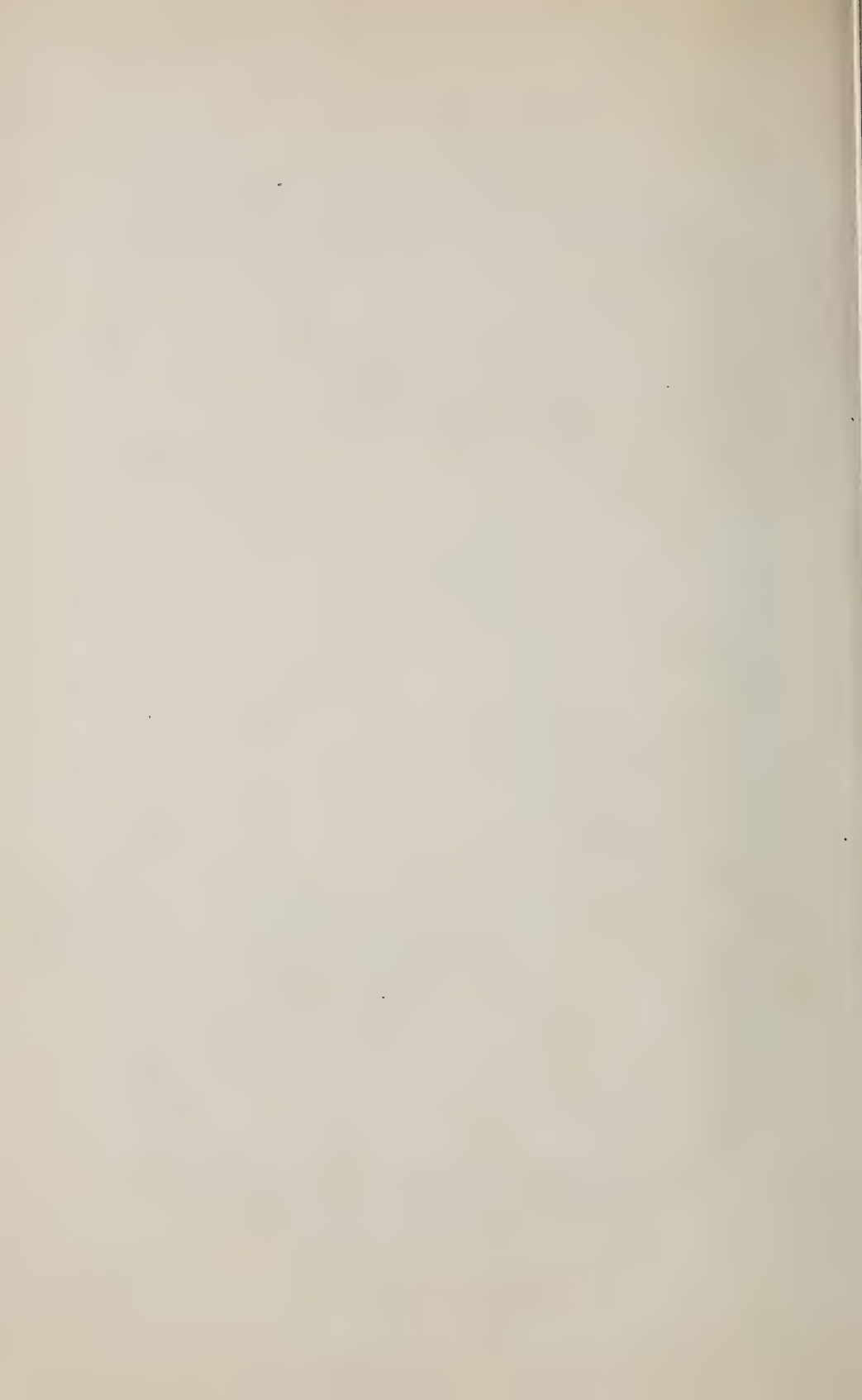
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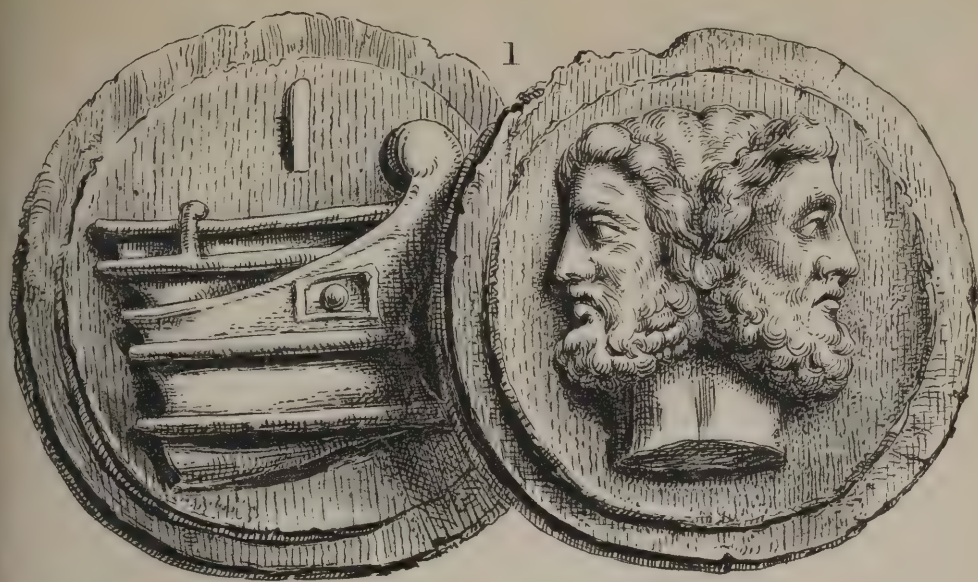


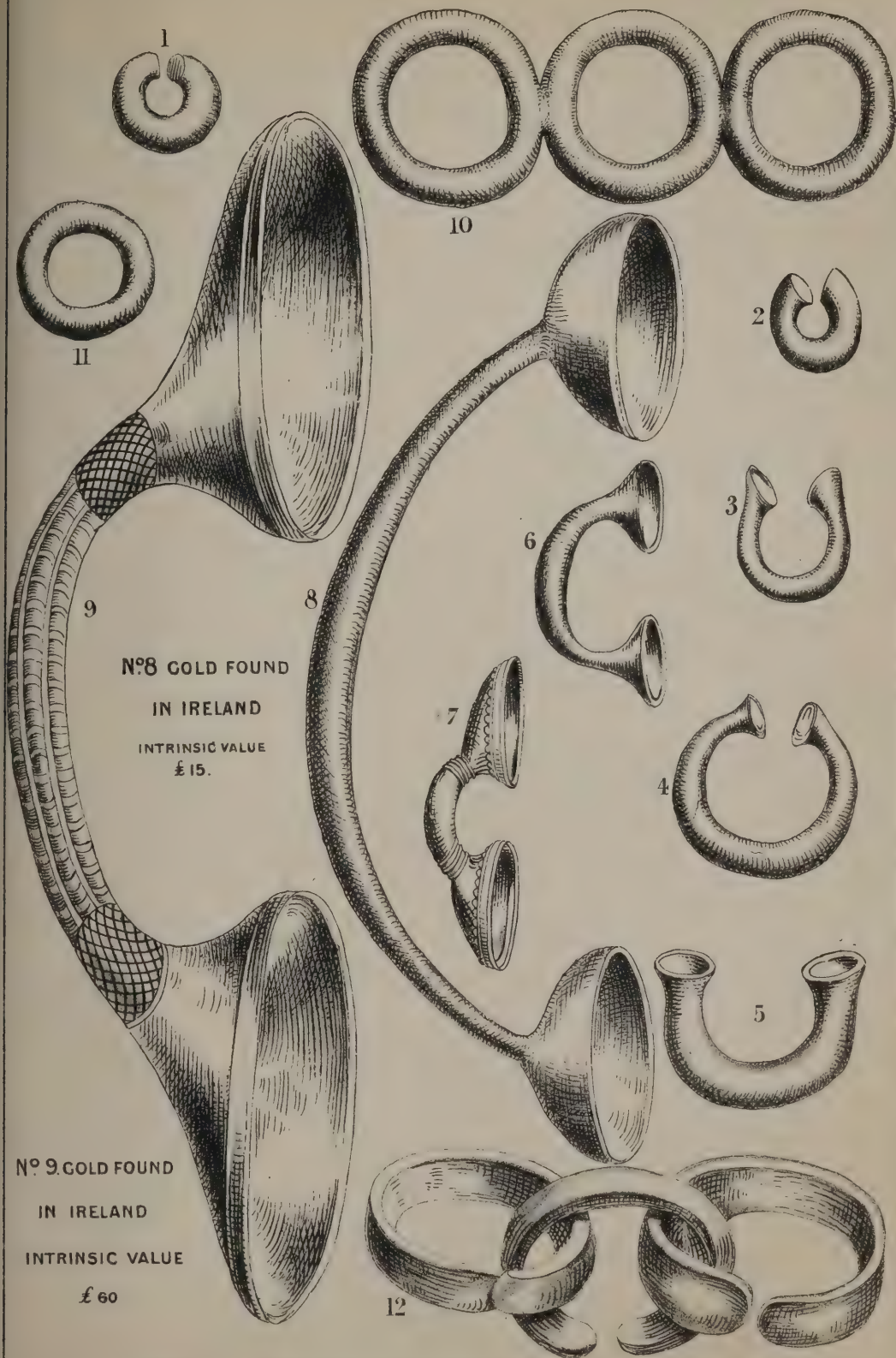
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2

1

4

5

Nº 5, GOLD.

1 lb. 4. oz. 15 DWTS. 13.47 GRS.

Nº 4. GOLD.

1 lb. 4. oz. 13 DWTS. 10.47 GRS.

6

Nº 6. GOLD.

4 lb. 1. oz. 16 DWTS. 11.65 GRS.

7

Nº 7. GOLD.

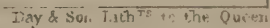
1 lb. 5. oz. 6 DWTS. 0.4 GRS.

3

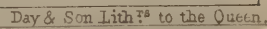


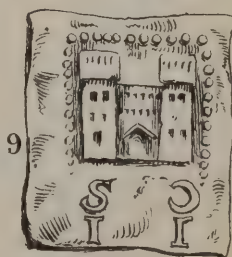
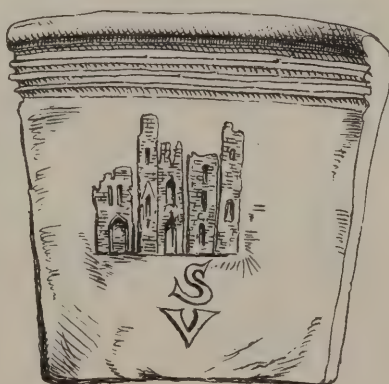
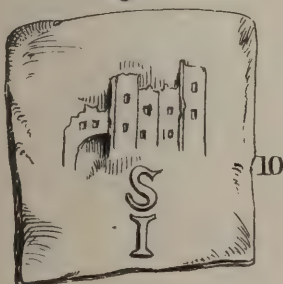
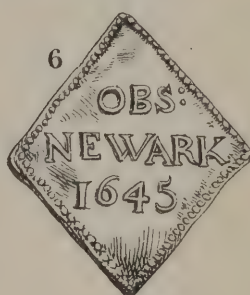
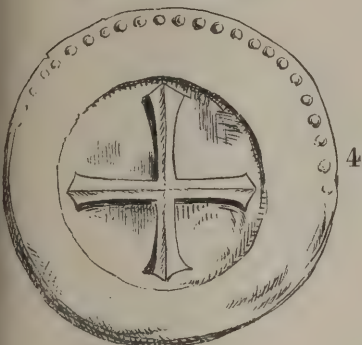
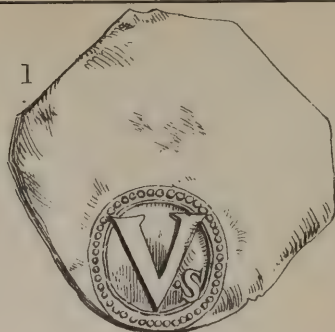
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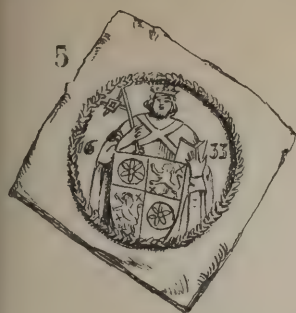
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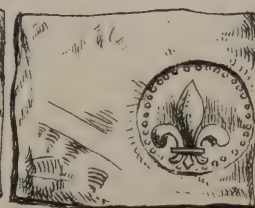
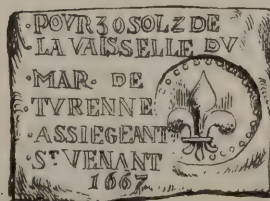
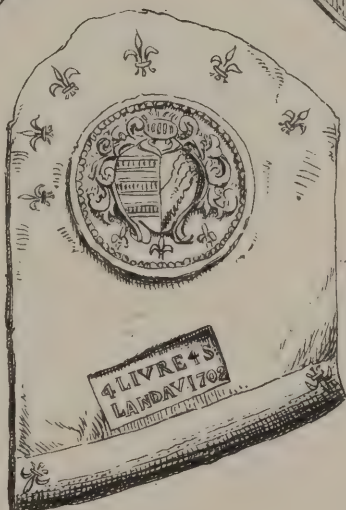
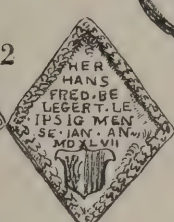




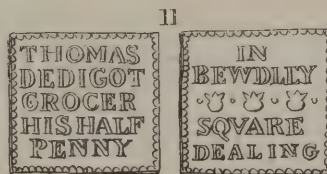
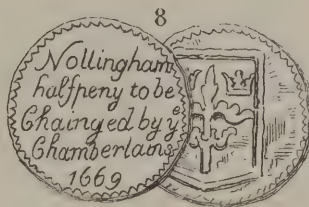
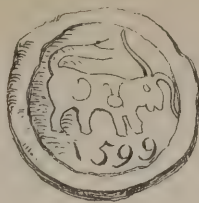




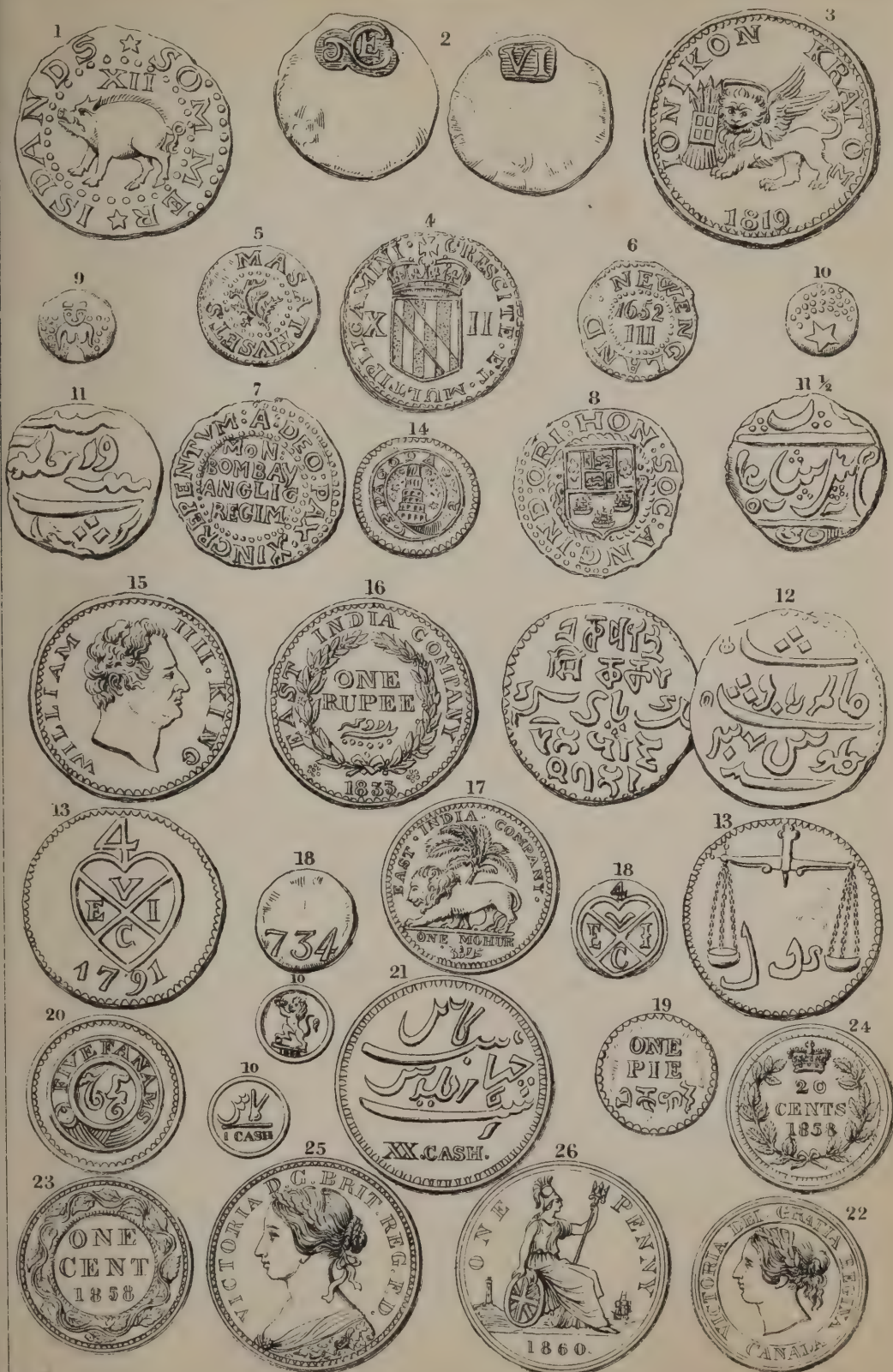
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Fax: (614) 414-0860

df@numislit.com

141 W. Johnstown Road
Gahanna, OH 43230-2700

